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BASILICA OF THE NATIVITY

Discovery of the Remains of an Earlier Church

WORKS carried out last year in connexion with a structural survey made by Mr. William Harvey resulted in the discovery of remains of masonry (walling, door-ways, and steps) and of associated mosaic flooring, that provide further evidence of the plan of the earlier church prior to the alterations carried out by Justinian.

Though discoveries of work related to later periods were also made, the scope of this note is limited to a summary description of the earlier work, and the later work will only be referred to if it is necessary to do so in the interests of clarity and in order to distinguish it from the earlier.

The subject will be dealt with in the following order:

- A. The discoveries in the triapsidal part of the existing church;
- B. Those in the Naves and Aisles;
- C. Those in the Narthex;
- D. A Note on the Atrium and on a possible method of roofing the early church.

A. The Discoveries in the Triapsidal Part of the Church

Soundings made below the modern flooring of the Crossing and to the east of it immediately over the Grotto of the Nativity, disclosed a segment of a low circular wall of masonry (Pl. XXXVI—general plan—and Pl. XXXVII). The inner diameter of the circle of which this segment formed a part, measures about 3·85 m. and the outer about 5·55 m. In its eastern section the outer circumference traversed a line that corresponds roughly with the chord of the small apse in the Grotto below. The space enclosed by this wall is now blocked up with plaster concrete. It seems probable that this wall is built upon the original rock that formed the roof of the Grotto; that the latter was pierced by a circular opening of a diameter corresponding with the inner diameter of the circular wall, and that the insertion of the plaster blocking was made at a later date owing to changed conditions.

The segment of circular walling stands upon a base that, when complete, was octagonal in plan, the sides of the octagon being tangential with the outer circumference of the wall. Outside the circle, on its north-east side, and at a level of about 0·37 m. below the top of the circular wall, a stone step was found, its tread measuring from 0·87 m. to 0·88 m. and its riser from 0·15 m. to 0·16 m. This step is butted against the octagonal base of the circular wall,

its tread being flush with the surface of the base. The wall was, then, surrounded by an octagonally planned step. Foundations for a lower step were found, but the step itself has been removed.

Remains of a mosaic pavement, of which the inner edge is intact at three places (*A*, *B*, and *C*, Pl. XXXVI), were found at a distance of about 1.75 m. from the outer circumference of the wall. The level of this pavement is about 0.32 m. below the tread of the upper step and it is sufficiently clear that its edge abutted the bottom of the riser of the lower step.

This mosaic pavement, Pl. XXXVII and Pl. XXXVIII, which consists of a band some 3.80 m. in width in its northern section, and rather less in its north-western section, was laid, like the steps which it surrounded, on an octagonal plan. The remains discovered (Pl. XXXVI) of this pavement comprise the north-west corner of the octagonal band, while a small fragment *D*, Pls. XXXVI and XLIII, 2, of the outer border of the band was found to the east in a sounding made between the present Iconostasis and the main altar.

The outer edge, Pl. XXXVI, *E*, of the mosaic at the north-west corner of the octagonal band is intact and abuts against a length of walling running east and west found under the present floor of the northern transept. In this wall is an arch formed to carry the wall over a part of the Grotto of the Innocents. The present upper surface of this wall is a few centimetres above the level of the mosaic floor which slopes slightly downwards from the octagonal steps towards the wall. This northern wall is 1.20 m. thick. Unbroken edges of mosaic at *F* (Pl. XXXVI) indicated that there was a thinner wall, 0.60 m. thick, that bordered the mosaic pavement to the north-west. That the octagonal conception was carried out in the walling that bordered the north-east and the east sections of the mosaic pavement is clear from the discovery, below the present pavement, of the outer angle stones *G* and *H* (Pl. XXXVI) of the north-eastern wall and of a length of walling, *J*, between them (Pl. XXXVI). The thickness of the octagonally planned wall in its north-eastern and eastern sections seems to have been about 1 m. or a little less, corresponding approximately with the thickness of the present north and south walls of the aisles.

A sounding made on the chord of the northern apse disclosed a prolongation (Pl. XXXVI, *K*) of the northern outer wall of the church. This prolongation does not extend across the whole width of the present northern apse, but turned southwards towards the wall that bordered the mosaic pavement to the north at a point about 1.35 m. from the eastern jamb of the apse. At its western end the wall traversing the chord of the northern apse had been cut

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through when the apse was formed. Associated with this wall was a fragment of mosaic pavement (*L*, Pls. XXXVI and XXXIX). The level of this fragment is some 31 cm. lower than that of the northern part of the octagonal band of mosaic that surrounded the steps. Assuming that there was connexion between the two levels two steps would have been required to give access between them.

Between the prolongation (across the northern apse) of the northern wall of the church, and the wall of the apse itself, a segment of curved walling was found, while a continuation of this segment was found in the north-east corner of the northernmost aisle and a similar but smaller curved fragment in the south-east corner of the southern aisle. These fragments of curved walling belong to a period later than that of the mosaic flooring which has been cut through to make their construction possible. As they do not belong to the earlier church they are not here discussed.

B. Discoveries in the Nave and Aisles

At the eastern end of the northern aisle a fragment of mosaic at *M* (Pl. XXXVI and Pl. XL) was found at a level somewhat lower than that of the fragment above referred to. If there was direct communication between the two levels this difference would have involved one step up from the flooring of the northern aisle to the flooring immediately to the east of it. In a corresponding position in the southern aisle, at *N* in Pl. XXXVI, mosaic pavement was found (Pl. XLI, 1) of which the eastern edge abuts a step cut in the rock and the southern edge is fitted against the lower course of the present south wall of the church.

At the eastern end of the nave at *O* on Pl. XXXVI two stone steps were found leading from the nave to the higher level east of it (Pl. XLI, 2, and Pl. XLII). The distance between the northern and the southern edges of the lower step measures about 4.90 m. At its southern end the lower step returns eastwards till it reaches a vertical face of masonry situated on a line that corresponds with the prolongation northwards of the rock-cut step at the end of the southern aisle. This tread of the lower step and of its eastward return measures about 0.50 m. Rising from the lower step is a second one having a tread of about 1.10 m. measured from its face back to the vertical face of masonry to the east of it. A third riser would have been necessary to attain the level of the octagonally planned mosaic floor of the higher level to the east. At the northern end of this flight, the second step is no longer in place, Pl. XLII, while the first step has been largely cut away for the purpose of forming a stairway descending southwards towards a door-way facing eastwards that at one time gave access to the western prolongation of the Grotto.

This stairway was enclosed by a thin wall to the west. Within this wall there is a second wall¹ indicating that the width of the stairway had at some period been reduced. At its southern end the ancient step is much worn, particularly at the corner where it returns eastwards. At its foot, *P*, Pl. XXXVI, is a mosaic pavement (Pl. XLI, 2) which, where the riser is not worn down (at the southern side of the return), abuts against the riser. At the corner where the wear is considerable the mosaic is taken over the worn part. North of these steps, at *Q*, Pl. XXXVI, is a small geometrical panel (Pl. XLIII, 1) in mosaic containing in its centre the word ΙΧΘΥ/Σ . At *R*, Pl. XXXVI, is another panel of the same size, but without inscription, to the south of the steps.

The mosaic pavement at *S* and *P*, Pl. XXXVI, associated with these steps continued westwards and covered the whole nave. Though the pavement has been considerably damaged (Pls. XXXVI and XLIV) enough remains to make it possible to reconstitute its design.

Soundings made at the western end of the nave disclosed at *T*, Pl. XXXVI, the cill of a door-way (Pl. XLV, 1) about three metres in width and set on the axis of the nave. North and south of the cill at *U*, *U*, Pl. XXXVI, were remains of walling about 1 m. thick running north and south. A length of the same wall at *V*, Pl. XXXVI, was found under the present floor at the western end of the northernmost of the two northern aisles, while at *W*, Pl. XXXVI, in the southernmost of the northern aisles, remains of a second cill belonging to a smaller door-way were found (Pl. XLV, 2).

The inner face of the wall in which these door-ways are set is 2.80 m. eastwards of the inner face of the present western wall of the church. The mosaic pavement of the nave at its western end is fitted closely against the cill of the central door-way and the face of the wall on each side of it. There is a fragment of mosaic pavement at *X*, Pl. XXXVI, associated with the inner edge of the cill of the northern door-way. Part of this cill has been much worn down and the mosaic is carried over the worn part. There is also a fragment of mosaic pavement at *Y*, Pl. XXXVI, of which the western edge abuts the length of the ancient western wall at the end of the northernmost of the two northern aisles. Outside at *Z*, Pl. XXXVI, and leading up to the cill of the ancient central door-way, the lower step (Pl. XLV, 1) of a flight of two (the upper step having disappeared) was found.

The smaller door to the north was also provided with two steps of which the lower one at α , Pl. XXXVI, is still in position.

Associated with the riser of the lower step at β , Pl. XXXVI, leading to the

¹ These walls have been omitted from the plan to avoid confusion, but can be seen in Pls. XLI, 2, and XLII.

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central door-way, is a fragment of mosaic, Pl. XLV, 1, and there is another fragment at γ , Pl. XXXVI, outside the northern section of the wall in which these door-ways are set.

In addition to the fragments of mosaic pavement already referred to in the aisles south of the nave, other fragments (marked δ , δ^1 , δ^2 , δ^3 , δ^4 , δ^5 , δ^6 , and δ^7 on Pl. XXXVI) were discovered in those aisles. The fragment marked δ^3 is illustrated in Pls. XLVI and XLVII.

Opposite the third column, counting from the west, of the colonnade dividing the southern double aisle, a sounding showed that the surface rock had been quarried away so as to leave a rock step upon which the southern wall is built.

The fragments of mosaic pavement found in the aisles indicated that, as in the present church, there were double aisles to the north and south of the nave.

Investigations in the nave and aisles brought to light longitudinal walls, or stylobates (Pl. XLVI), built in dressed stone upon the rock. Upon these walls blocks of stone 0.38 m. high are set at intervals. On plan these blocks correspond in size with the lowest member of the column bases for which they provide the immediate support. At no point was the mosaic pavement of the aisles and the nave found to be associated with these stylobates. The mosaic edges running in the same general direction as the stylobates were, wherever an examination was made, ϵ , ϵ , ϵ . . . Pl. XXXVI, found to be broken, leaving a gap varying in width from between 0.25 m. and 0.50 m. between the broken edges of the mosaic and the masonry faces of the stylobates.

At the eastern end of the nave below the present flooring fragments of marble paving were found in position at a level corresponding with that of the joint between the bases of the columns and the stone blocks upon which they stand.

The above suggests that the stylobate walls are not contemporary with the mosaic flooring, but were erected at a later date, the mosaic flooring having been cut through in making the trench to carry their foundations; and that the floor associated with the construction of the stylobates and with the re-erection on it of the columns (which themselves belong to the Constantinian period),¹ was set at a level corresponding with the joint between the bases and the blocks on which they stand. Judging from the distance between the broken edges of the mosaic on each side of the stylobate walls it seems that the alignment of the foundations of the original colonnades could not have differed much from that of the existing colonnades.

¹ Cf. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Bethléem, Le sanctuaire de la Nativité*, Paris, 1914, pp. 74 f., 97, and Pl. X.

C. *Discoveries in the Narthex*

North of the present line of entrance through the Narthex is an enclosure used in Turkish times as a guard-room (Pl. XXXV). Soundings made in this room and to the west of the smaller of the two door-ways above described, revealed at η , Pl. XXXVI, a mosaic pavement (Pl. XLVIII), the eastern edge of which is fitted against the riser of a flight of two steps leading upwards and eastwards. These steps at θ , Pl. XXXVI, lead to a landing with a mosaic pavement that extended eastwards to the ancient west wall of the nave, and its door-ways. The fragments of the mosaic of the landing are those referred to in Pl. XXXVI as β and γ and already described above as associated with the steps leading up to the central door-way and with the northern section of the ancient western wall.

D. *Note on the Atrium and on possible method of roofing the early Church*

The position—outside one of the western entrances to the Basilica—of the remains described under (C) suggests that among them are what is left of the atrium of the earlier church and of a colonnaded portico (which was paved with mosaic and raised two steps above an open court, also paved with mosaic), that was continued round the other three sides of the court. The stones seen in Pl. XLVIII on the right-hand side of the top step suggest the upper part of a podium on which the columns stood.

If the atrium with its surrounding portico was square in plan¹ and was bordered on the north and south by a prolongation westwards of the north and south walls of the church, the outer face of the west enclosing wall would have been situated at a distance of about 27 m. from the ancient west wall of the church.

During the investigations made in 1932 in the area west of the church and published in Vol. III, pp. 1–8, of the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities*, remains of a pavement made of large stones were found at a distance of 9 m. west of the suggested position of the atrium's western enclosure wall, and other remains of the same pavement were found still further westward, but none were found within the area suggested as that occupied by the earlier atrium.

The most easterly of these fragments of heavy stone paving were found at a level of 1.25 m. below that of the present narthex floor, while the most westerly fragments were found at a depth of about 1.38 m. below the same datum, indicating that the pavement rose slightly from west to east. If the

¹ Cf. H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *loc. cit.*, p. 90 f. and Pl. X.

GREEK CONVENT



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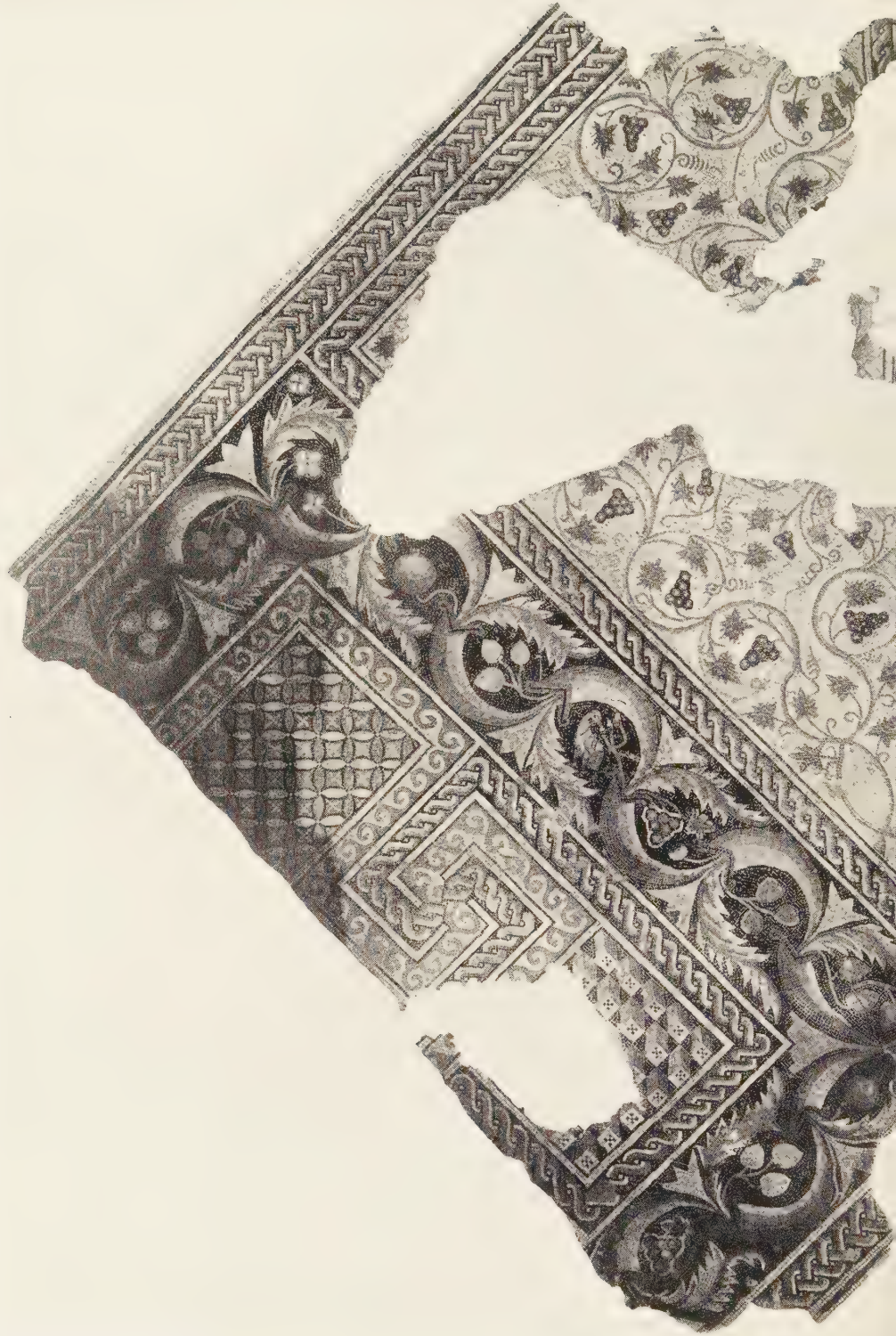
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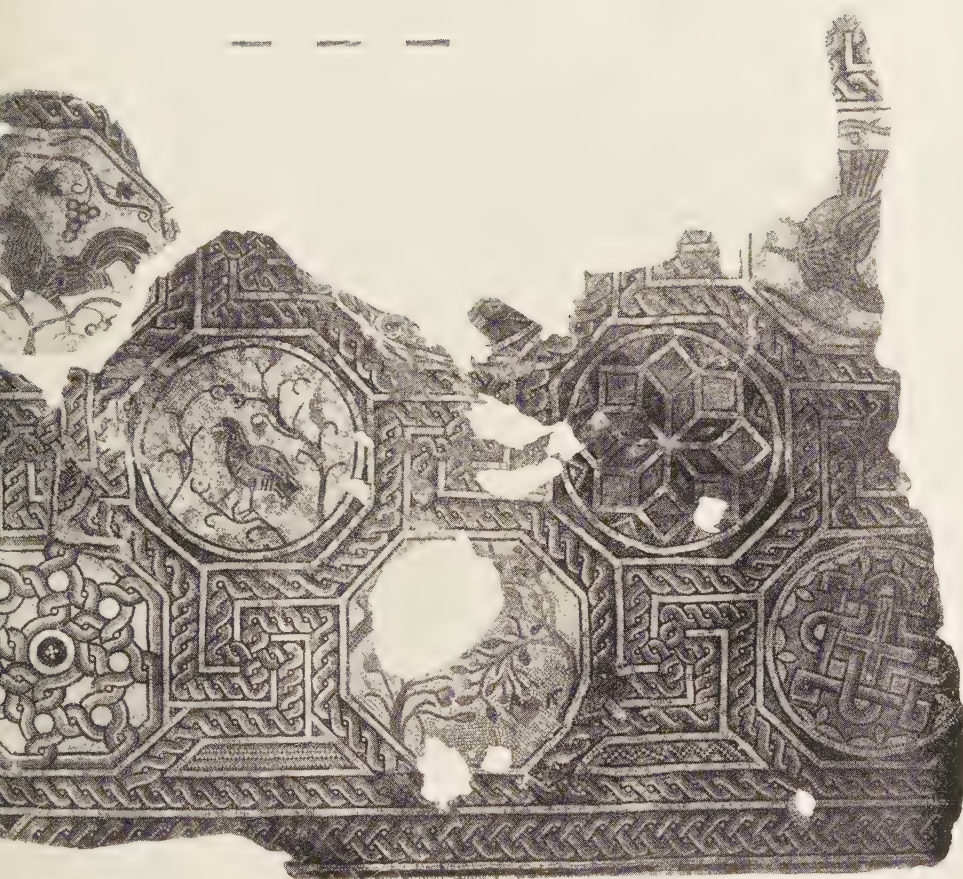
-I



SEGMENT OF THE CIRCULAR WALL AND REMAINS OF OCTAGONAL BAND
OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT



FRAGMENT OF OCTAGONAL BAND OF MOSAIC



SURROUNDED THE OCTAGONAL STEPS



FRAGMENT OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT MARKED *L* ON PL. XXXVI, LOOKING SOUTH-WEST
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



FRAGMENT OF MOSAIC MARKED *M* ON PL. XXXVI, LOOKING NORTH
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



1. FRAGMENT OF MOSAIC PAVEMENT MARKED *N* ON PL. XXXVI, LOOKING NORTH



2. TWO STEPS LEADING FROM NAVE TO HIGHER LEVEL EAST OF IT. THIS PHOTOGRAPH IS TAKEN FROM THE SOUTH-WEST AND SHOWS THE WEAR OF THE LOWER STEP, ALSO THE LATER WALLING REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



LOWER STEP, AT NORTHERN END, OF THE TWO STEPS LEADING FROM NAVE TO HIGHER LEVEL. THIS PHOTOGRAPH, TAKEN FROM THE NORTH, GIVES ANOTHER VIEW OF THE LATER WALLING AND STAIRS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM

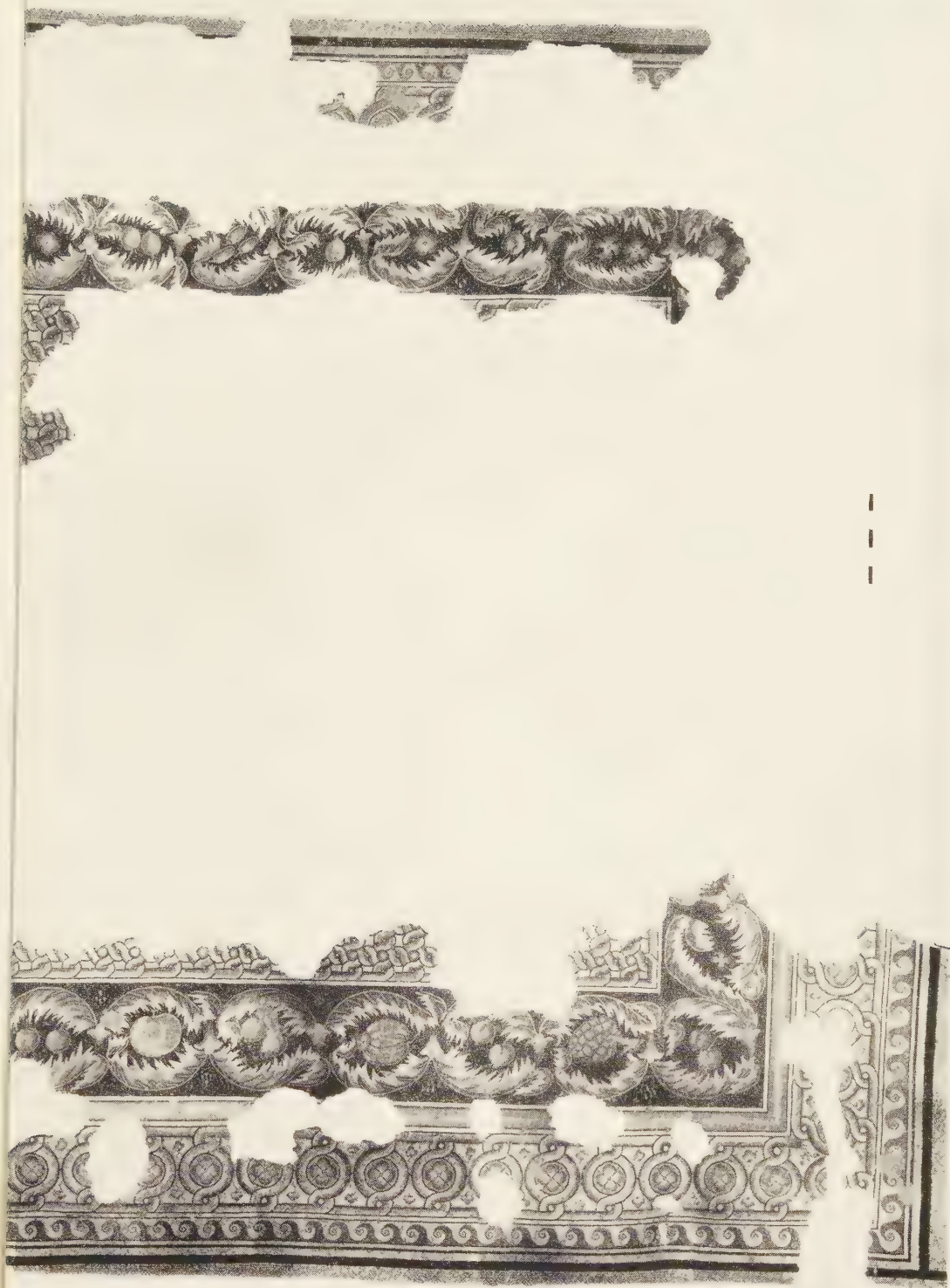


1. INSCRIBED PANEL IN MOSAIC, MARKED Q ON PL. XXXVI



2. FRAGMENT OF OCTAGONAL BAND FOUND BELOW FLOOR BETWEEN PRESENT
ICONOSTASIS AND ALTAR, MARKED D ON PL. XXXVI

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM





1. CILL OF CENTRAL DOORWAY WITH ASSOCIATED MOSAIC PAVING INSIDE AND OUTSIDE,
ALSO LOWER EXTERNAL STEP (T AND Z ON PLAN)



2. CILL OF NORTHERN DOORWAY WITH ASSOCIATED MOSAIC PAVING INSIDE (W ON PLAN)
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



PART OF STYLOBATE WALL, SOUTH NAVE COLONNADE AND MOSAIC FOUND AT
8³, PL. XXXVI

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



MOSAIC AT δ^1 , SEE Pl. XXXVI

CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM



FRAGMENT OF MOSAIC PAVING AND STEPS FOUND IN GUARD-ROOM
CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, BETHLEHEM

BASILICA OF THE NATIVITY; REMAINS OF AN EARLIER CHURCH

line of this rising surface is prolonged eastwards it would reach the suggested western wall of the early atrium at a level that corresponds approximately with that of the mosaic pavement of the portico.

The heavy stone paving may, then, have been the paving of a street leading eastwards to the atrium of the church.

From this street a visitor to the church would have entered the western portico of the atrium and from it could have either descended the two steps leading down to the mosaic paved open court, traversed the court, and ascended the two steps giving access to the eastern portico and so into the church by the central doorway, or he could, after entering the west portico, have turned either right or left and proceeded under the covered colonnaded portico to the entrances of the church.

The distance from west to east between the western wall of the early church and the line that marks the rise in the floor level east of it, measures about 27 m.; and the distance between the north and south walls is about 26.20 m. The difference between these measurements is small enough to suggest an intention to lay out this area (that contained the nave and double aisles) as a square.

This area could have been roofed, as the corresponding area of the present church is roofed, by a trussed roof over the nave and by sloping roofs over the double aisles, the nave roof being set sufficiently high to allow of clerestory lighting by means of windows set in the upper part of the walls carried by the colonnades that divided the nave from the aisles.

The octagonally planned system east of that area and centred upon the circular opening over the Grotto of the Nativity could have been roofed by a conical roof of timber on an octagonal plan surmounted, perhaps, by a lantern.

It does not seem likely in view of the restrictions imposed by the north-east and south-east external walls of the eastern octagonal arrangement, that, in the early church, there was more than a single entrance from the nave to the Grotto. Such an entrance could have been arranged by restricting the steps that led up from the nave to the higher level to two sets of steps, one to the north and one to the south and leaving the space between for a stairway leading downwards from the nave level to the Grotto. The heavy wear to which the corner of the lowest step on the southern side has been subjected would seem to lend some support to this suggestion.¹

E. T. RICHMOND.

¹ This suggestion was made by Mr. William Harvey.

AN EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA AT TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICHO

IRRIGATION has again been responsible for disclosing a large Early Byzantine Basilica. In the course of turning over a plot of ground at Tell Ḥassān in Jericho, the landlord discovered a mosaic pavement. The Antiquities guard soon learnt about it, and the site was cleared by this Department in February, 1934.

The excavations showed two periods of occupation, Early Byzantine and Arab. The remains of the former period include a basilica with two rooms and a portico on its north side. The Arab period includes miscellaneous rooms not built on any specific plan, and the only interest attaching to them is the fact that a large amount of the Early Byzantine material was reused in their construction.

Early Byzantine Period

The Basilica. The basilica is composed of a central nave and two lateral aisles, all paved with mosaics, separated from each other by two arcades,¹ and appears to have had a double bema² (see Plan, Fig. 1). No trace is left of the apse and its outline was planned entirely by conjecture. All the walls were destroyed to below foundation level, and their places, including the limits of the basilica were indicated only by the edges of the mosaic pavement, or, where that had also disappeared, by the edges of the cement in which the mosaics had been bedded.

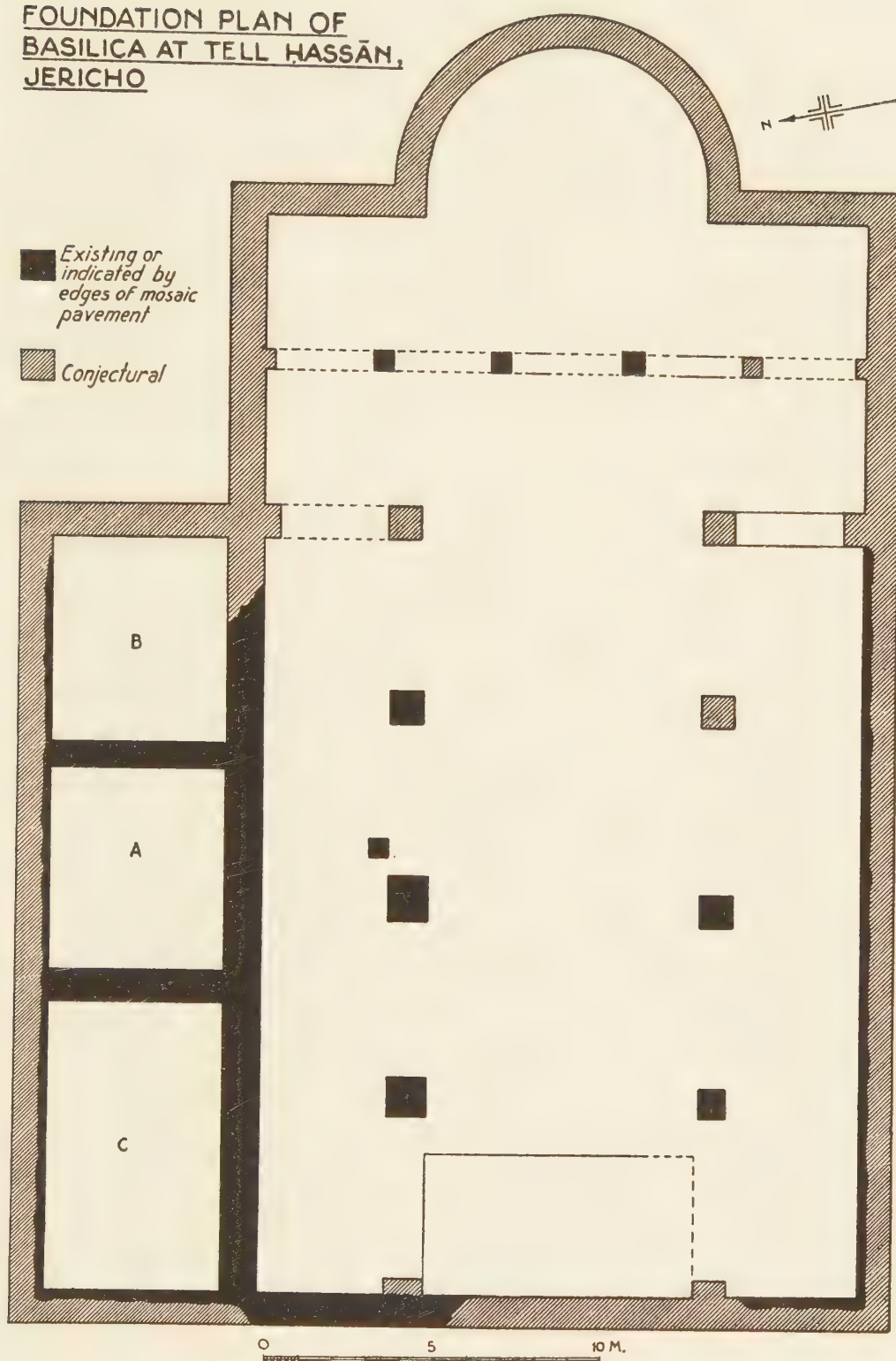
Nave. The mosaic floor in the nave was entirely destroyed, except for a small portion at the south-east corner (Pl. L, 1). It consisted of a white surround, a border of black triangles, and alternating double rows of white and black tesserae. The field consisted of diagonal rows of red and black sprigs, intersecting at right angles and forming 'Maltese crosses' at their points of intersection. The squares so formed enclosed small indented squares in black, red, and white (Pl. LII, 3).³ A row of columns and stylobate of black flagstones divide the bema into two (Plan, Fig. 1, and Pl. L, 1), while at the west end of the nave there is a raised step, the sides of which were faced with glass mosaics (Plan, Fig. 1, and Pl. L, 2) of which only a few remained.

¹ This is evident from the width of the intercolumniations, which precludes the use of architraves, and the presence of voussoirs on different part of the site. (Pl. LV, 2 and 3.)

² S. Paolo Fuori le Mura, Rome, is another example of a church with a double bema. Cf. Bannister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, p. 206 (E).

³ There were 49 tesserae in an area 10 cm.².

FOUNDATION PLAN OF
BASILICA AT TELL HASSÂN,
JERICHO



M

FIG. I

North Aisle. The pavement in the north aisle was composed of a white surround decorated with sprigs in black, red, and brown, and a border of rows of black, red, and white tesserae. The mosaics in the field were divided into panels each containing some geometric pattern (Pl. LI, 1).¹ The colours used were black, blue, brown, orange, green, and white. In two places at the west end of the aisle the mosaics were depressed by heavy objects having fallen from the roof (Pl. L, 2). The intercolumniation was similarly decorated with geometric patterns in the same colours (Pl. LII, 4). A red-painted Corinthian capital in sandstone, a fragment of a small marble column probably from an altar (Pl. LVI, 4), and marble panels were found about the middle of the aisle.

East End. The east end was completely destroyed, and it was thus impossible to ascertain whether a prothesis bounded the north aisle on the east or not. However, on analogy with the church cited above² it is safe to assume that no such prothesis existed.

South Aisle. The floor of the south aisle consisted of the usual white surround and geometric pattern border enclosed in rows of black, red, and white tesserae (Pl. LII, 1). The field, as in the north aisle was divided into panels, each containing a geometric pattern, in similar colours (Pl. LI, 2).

The floor between the columns (as indicated by the existing second and third intercolumniations) was paved with smaller mosaics³ that show a wealth of colour (no less than eight colours being used, viz. black, blue, pink, red, violet, yellow, green, and white) and delicacy in execution, and point to an earlier period (Pl. LII, 1 and 2).⁴

A moulded marble column of an altar (Pl. LVI, 1), a fragment of a plain one, and a red stone panel with a 'Maltese cross' in relief, most likely fragments of the top the altar (Pl. LVI, 2), were found along the south side. There was no trace of a diakonikon, but compared with the north aisle, it is safe to assume that this aisle was not bounded by such on the east (Plan, Fig. 1).

Portico. A portico (marked *A* on Plan, Fig. 1) and two rooms (*B* and *C*) flanking it, all paved with tesserae, were discovered north of the basilica. The portico was paved with large white tesserae (Pl. LIII, 2). Presumably it communicated with the north aisle and rooms *B* and *C* by doors, of which no traces remain.

Room B. The floor in room *B* consisted of a white surround decorated with indented squares in black, red, brown, and white; a border of rows of tesserae

¹ There were 100 tesserae in an area 10 cm.².

² Cf. note 2 on p. 82.

³ There were 170 tesserae in an area 10 cm.².

⁴ The intercolumniations are the parts least used in a church, and naturally mosaic floors in them would survive longer, and would not need replacement as often as those in other parts of the church.

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, JERICHO

enclosing interlacing circles, each containing four sprigs in 'Maltese cross' formation, in the same colours. The field depicts other geometric designs in the same colours as well (Pl. XLIX, 1 and 3).¹ It contained fragments of a marble panel with a lamb in relief (Pl. LVI, 5).

Room C. The pavement in room *C* included a white surround decorated with red and black sprigs, a border formed by a row of black triangles and a black running spiral enclosing a guilloche pattern in four colours, black, red, brown, and white (Pl. XLIX, 2), and a field similar to that in the nave but interrupted in the middle by a geometric pattern of which only a small fragment remains (Pl. XLIX, 4).² It contained fragments of a wreath in marble (Pls. LVI, 3; LVII, 1).

The area south of the basilica was not excavated as it was planted with bananas, and presumably all traces of former constructions, if any, were removed at the time of plantation.

Arab Period

The intrusive Arab walls (Plan, Fig. 2) are very crudely built, but the masonry is well dressed (Pls. LIV, 1 and 2; LV, 1) and was no doubt taken from the dismantled basilica. In some cases, these walls break through the mosaics (Pl. LV, 1 and 4), as in the north aisle and room *B*, where the mosaics were removed to give place to two walls, and the west wall of room *B* was extended to the south over the North Aisle, thus making a new room partly paved with the mosaics of room *B* and partly with those of the North Aisle, while the gap left by the demolition of the wall between the North Aisle and room *B* was left bare (Pl. LV, 4).

The flagstones of the pavement in the south-east of the nave (Plan, Fig. 2, and Pl. LIII, 1) are of the same width as the slabs used in the stylobate dividing the bema into two, thus their source has been more or less traced. The doorway of this room is paved with marble slabs of a panel or screen cut up and placed face downwards.

Objects found in the Excavation

Generally where the mosaics are preserved, larger loose tesserae were found lying immediately above them. Quantities of plain window glass and coloured glass mosaics, of the type used on walls, were found strewn all over the site. In the nave a number of Arab pots (Fig. 3) were found and fragments of tiles, pipes, and jars (Pl. LVII, 1). In some cases, before the jars were baked, heart-shaped pieces were cut out with a knife as in Pl. LVIII, where a few pieces of

¹ There were 80 tesserae in an area 10 cm.². ² There were 144 tesserae in an area 10 cm.².

FOUNDATION PLAN OF BASILICA
AT TELL HASSÂN, JERICHO,
SHOWING LATER ARAB
STRUCTURES.

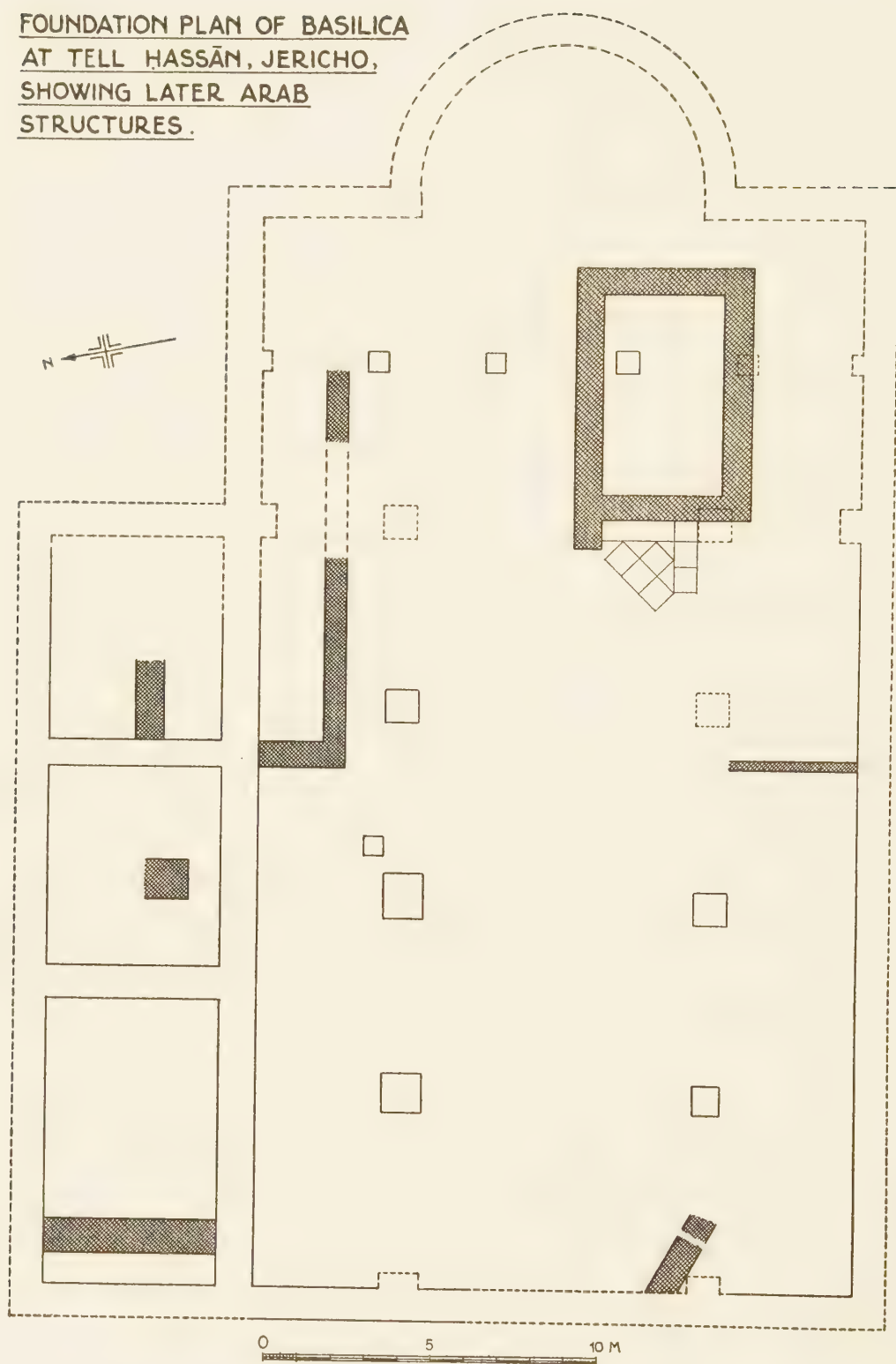


FIG. 2

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, JERICHO

these are illustrated together with a fragment of a jar from which such pieces were cut out. A list of coins, with their provenance is appended.

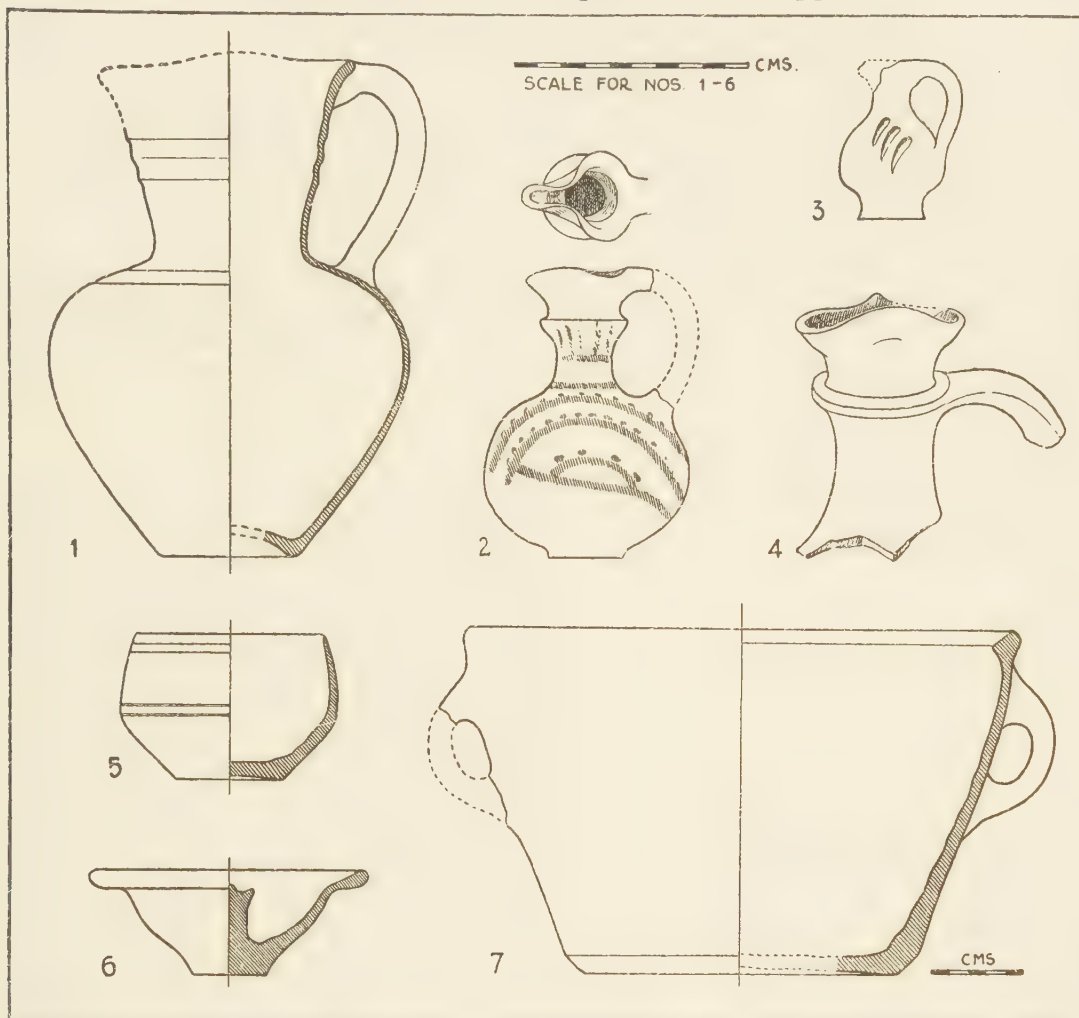


FIG. 3

Possible Identification

We learn from Procopius (*circa* A.D. 560) that Justinian '... restored ... the church of the Virgin at Jericho'.¹ A church dedicated to the Virgin Mary²

¹ *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. II, p. 147, para. ix.

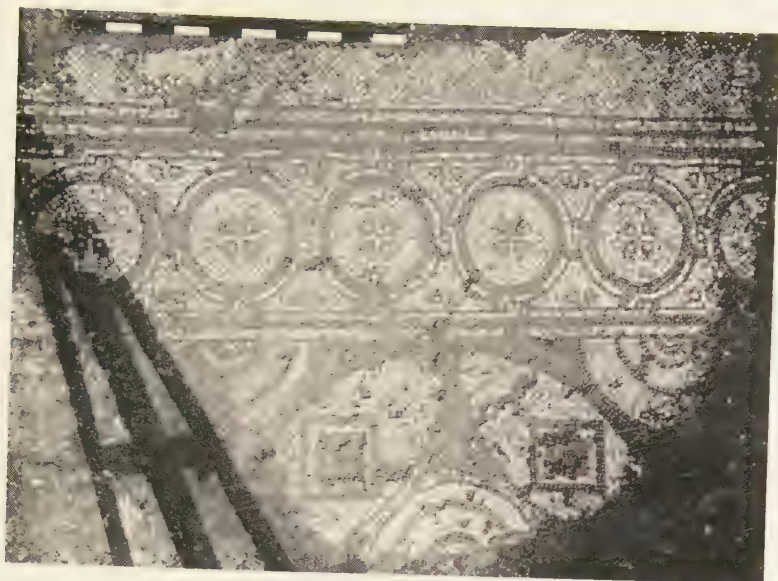
² This is not to be confused with Rahab's house which is mentioned by Antoninus Martyr in his narrative where he states that '... The house of Raab still stands which is an inn; and the very chamber in which she hid the spies, which is a chapel of the Blessed Mary.' *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, Vol. II, p. 12, para. xiii.

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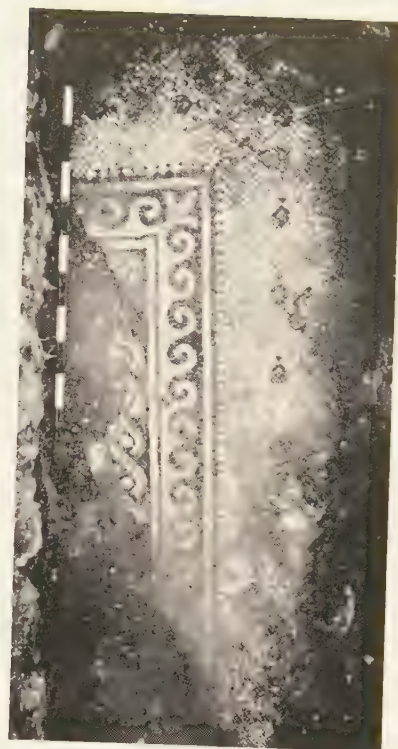
must therefore have existed in Jericho prior to the sixth century. Procopius does not furnish us with any details regarding Justinian's restoration, but on the analogy of other works of Justinian in Palestine, it would be safe to assume that his restorations were on a large scale.

No literature exists relating to the original church, but the mosaics in the southern intercolumniations show close similarity to those recently discovered in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, which are thought to belong to the fourth-fifth centuries A.D.; thus the original church at Jericho was most likely built during that period, and may possibly be that referred to.

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1



2



3



4

1, 3. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN ROOM B

2, 4. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN ROOM C

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICHO



1. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN NAVE AND STYLOBATE IN BEMA

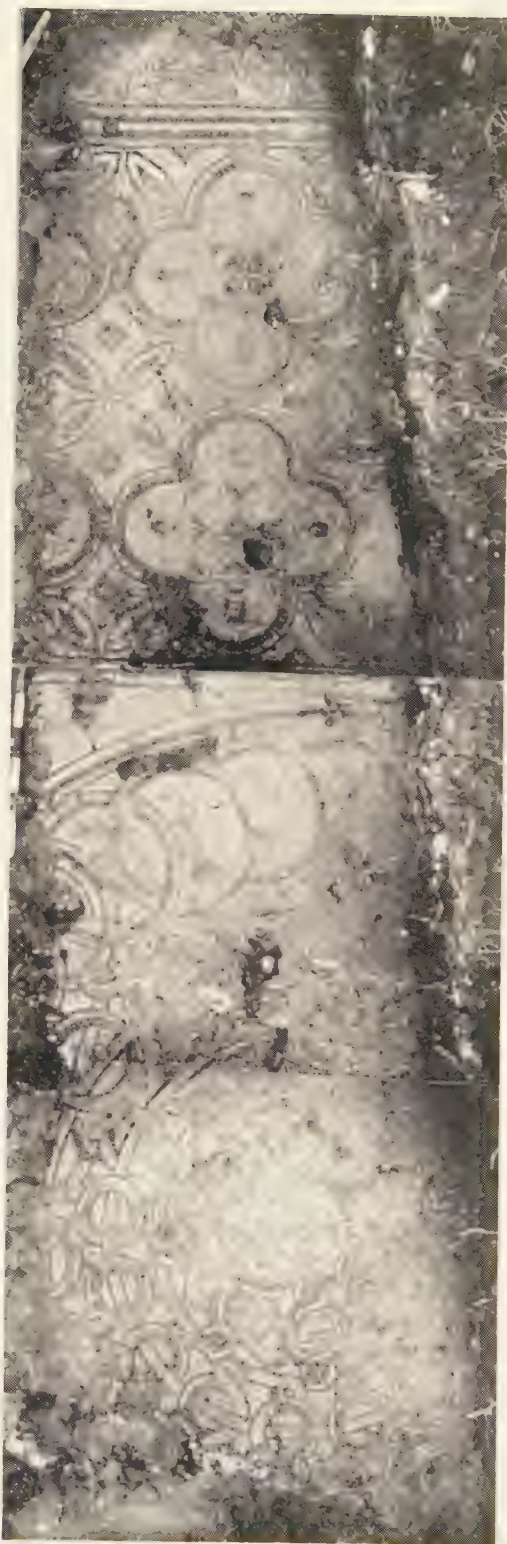


2. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN FIRST INTERCOLUMNIATION OF NORTH AISLE

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICHO



1. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN NORTH AISLE



2. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN SOUTH AISLE

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICHO



1. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN SOUTH AISLE, AND THIRD INTERCOLUMNIATION FROM WEST



2. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN SECOND INTERCOLUMNIATION FROM WEST



3. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN NAVE

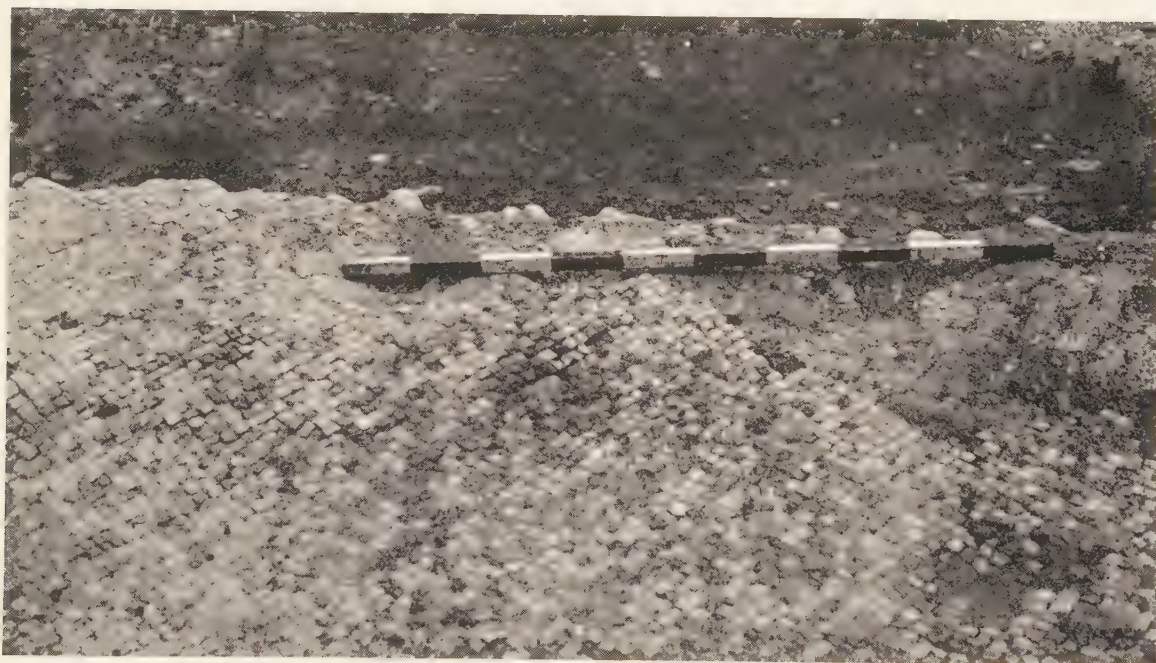


4. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN FIRST INTERCOLUMNIATION OF NORTH AISLE, FROM WEST

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICHO



1. FLAGSTONE PAVEMENT OF ARAB PERIOD



2. MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN PORTICO

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICHO



1. ARAB WALL OVER STYLOBATE OF BEMA

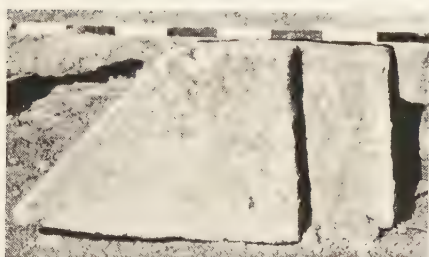


2. INTRUSIVE ARAB WALLS

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL HASSÂN, JERICHO

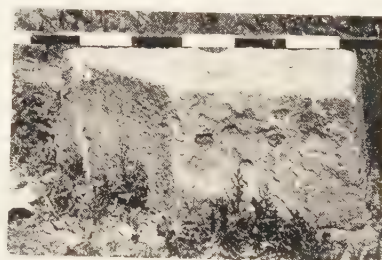


1. INTRUSIVE ARAB WALLS OVER MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN NORTH AISLE
AND ROOM B



2.

VOUSSOIRS



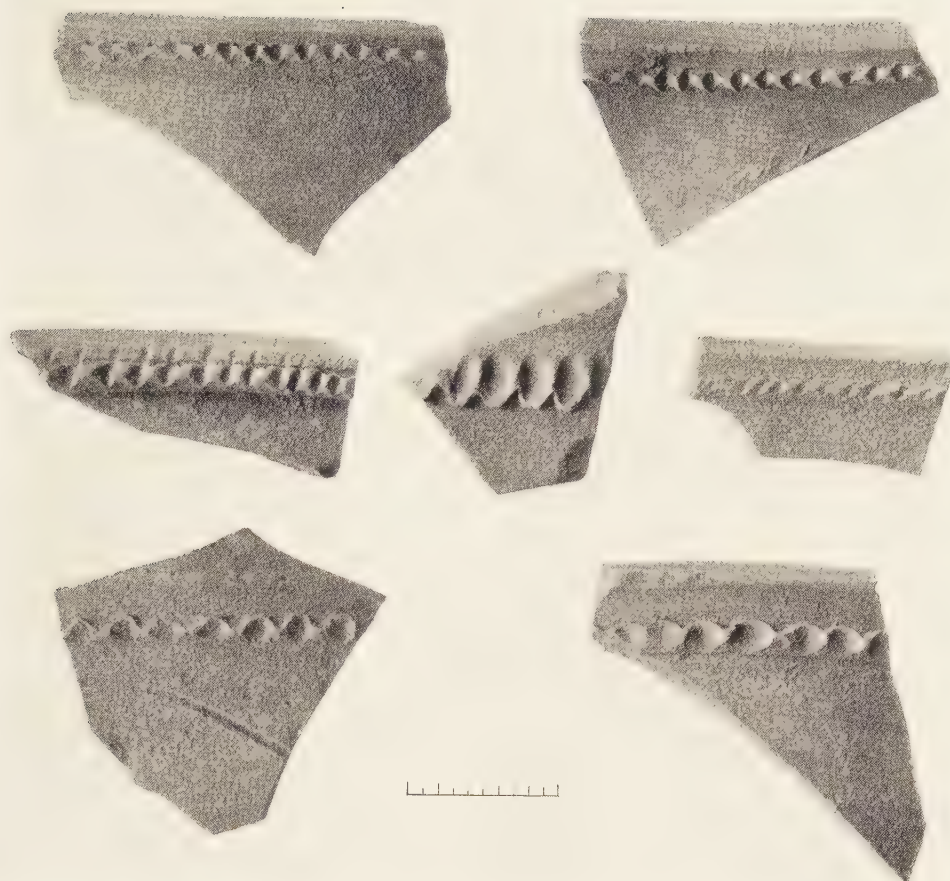
3.



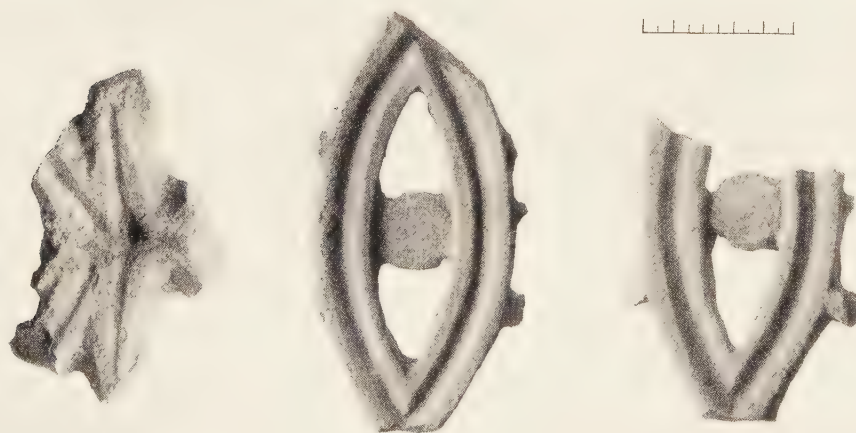
4. INTRUSIVE ARAB WALLS OVER MOSAIC PAVEMENT IN NORTH AISLE
AND ROOM B
EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL HASSÂN, JERICHO



ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND DURING EXCAVATIONS
EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSÂN, JERICHO



1. TYPES OF ARAB FINGER-MOULDED POTTERY



2. ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FOUND IN ROOM C
EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICO



STOPPERS (?) CUT OUT OF ARAB JARS

EARLY BYZANTINE BASILICA, TELL ḤASSĀN, JERICHO

LIST OF THE COINS FOUND DURING THE EXCAVATION OF THE EARLY
BYZANTINE BASILICA AT TELL HASSÂN, JERICHO
(*All are of Bronze*)

<i>Diameter</i> (mm.)	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Notes</i>
12	Head of city-goddess wearing turreted crown.	Figure (? female) standing l., wearing long garment. (Types almost obliterated.) Type effaced.	Portico.	1st century A.D. (?).
13	Bust of Arcadius (?) r., laur., draped; ---DIVSP---	Apparently <i>Salus reipublicae</i> type, illegible; P in field l.	Nave.	Late 4th-early 5th century A.D.
14	Similar bust r., illegible.	M; mint illegible.	Nave.	Possibly Arcadius. ¹
30	Bust of Justin I r.; ---VSTI NV---	Σ; ² on l., a letter (? A); on r., Δ.	Nave.	
11	Bust (? of Justin I) r.; DN----	[M] ⁺ ; on l., ANNO; on r., ; in ex., NIKO.	Portico.	
28	Justin II and Sophia seated to front; DNIV----	XXX ³ ; above, a cross; in ex., NI--.	East end of North aisle.	Year 8 = A.D. 572/3. Struck at Nicomedia.
30	Bust of Tiberius II facing; DM TIB---AN---	Cross potent; inscr. illegible.	Portico.	A.D. 578-82. Struck at Nicomedia.
10	Type effaced.	M; on l., [A]NNO; in ex., CON.	Nave.	5th-6th centuries A.D.
28	Two figures standing to front. ⁴		South Aisle.	Heracius (?). Struck at Constantinople.

¹ Cf. J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862), Pl. IV, No. 18.

² Cf. B.M.C., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, Vol. I, Pl. III, No. 10.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XV, No. 5.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXIV, No. 5.

In addition there were six illegible Arabic coins of the Ummayyad period, and three coins too corroded to be identifiable.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN 'PHILISTINE' AND MYCENAEAN POTTERY

PART I. *The Thirteenth Century*

THOUGH the dependence of 'Philistine' pottery in a general way on Mycenaean has always been recognized, no attempt has, as far as I know, been made to estimate the precise nature of that dependence or its implications.¹ It is obvious that if, on detailed inspection, LH. III of the thirteenth century is found not to be uniform, but to show stylistic idiosyncrasies in the various parts of the Aegaeon in which it was current,² it should be possible to discover to which of these local 'styles' 'Philistine' pottery is most closely related, and, if 'Philistine' pottery is really the pottery of the Philistines, perhaps to deduce where they themselves came from. In order to make the attempt, a brief review of the tendencies of Mycenaean vase-painting in the thirteenth³ century is essential.

Mycenae. A stratified deposit (2.7 m. thick) by the Lion Gate (Fig. 1) was divided by the excavators for purposes of record into eleven levels.⁴ Of these the first nine from the bottom contained standard LH. III⁵ but

¹ Much new material has accumulated since Schweitzer wrote his *Untersuchungen zur Chronol. der altgeom. Stile* and Phythian-Adams his 'Philistine origins in the light of Palestinian archaeology' (*Bulletin, BSAJ*, No. III, p. 20 ff.), and since Saussey's classic doubts, expressed in his article (*Syria*, Vol. V, p. 169 ff.), but any one who writes on this subject remains under an obligation to all three. I am also indebted in a general way to two recent writers who have touched the subject in passing: Prof. Myres in *Who were the Greeks?*, and T. C. Skeat in *The Dorians in Archaeology*. I have also had the privilege of the criticism and comments of Père Vincent, O.P., Dr. Albright, and Mr. R. W. Hutchinson, who most kindly read the article in MS. For Père Vincent's views cf. *Rev. Bibl.*, 1930, p. 437; 1933, p. 469; 1934, p. 292, and other places. Cf. also Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, I, p. 80 ff. I have also made much use of Forsdyke's admirable sketch of the development of Late Mycenaean pottery (*B.M. Cat.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, Introduction), and Hutchinson's scheme for the subdivision of the LH. III period (*Liv. Annals*, XIX, p. 117 ff.), with which I agree, with the reservation that his LH. III c should be called LH. IV (as Gjerstadt suggests) and the Proto-geometric period, which may be equated with the eleventh and tenth centuries, should be called LH. V. That there was no break in Mycenaean continuity, as far as Greece is concerned, during these periods is becoming more evident, and it is time that the terms sub-Mycenaean and Proto-geometric were dropped. This paper was written before Evans's *Palace of Minos*, Vol. IV, appeared, on pp. 295-377 of which the origins of many of the LM. III-LH. III pottery motives are traced.

² Cf. Myres, *Who were the Greeks?*, pp. 472, 473.

³ Throughout this paper, by 'thirteenth century' I do not mean the rigid chronological limits 1300-1200, but merely that most of the period falls within the thirteenth century.

⁴ *Annual of the British School of Athens*, Vol. XXV, pp. 20-38.

⁵ I mean stock Mycenaean, of the earlier phase of which Tell el Amarna is typical; which has been found at all Mycenaean sites, and which, though it altered little itself during the two centuries (fourteenth and thirteenth) in which it was current, formed however the basis and point of departure of local variations.

'PHILISTINE' AND MYCENAEAN POTTERY

with a progressively increasing number of 'panel' style (Fig. 2, No. 2) vases.¹ The ninth level was a burnt layer, and from this point the proportion of standard LH. III begins to decrease markedly, and its place is taken in the next two levels (i.e. tenth and eleventh), by 'granary' style pottery, which, as I hope to show, belongs to the twelfth century. This same pottery was found in great quantity on the floors of the adjoining granary, which was

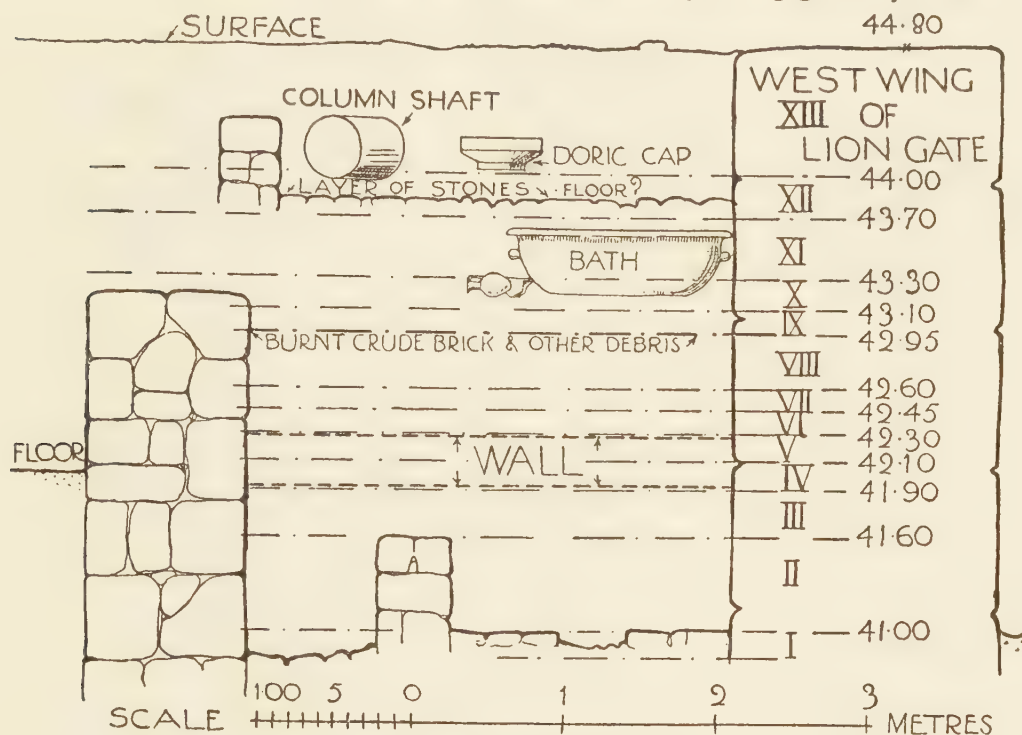


FIG. 1. Stratified deposit beside West Wing of Lion Gate, Mycenae.
(Reproduced from *BSA*, XXV.)

apparently destroyed by fire;² along with it were found one or two vases of the 'close' style (Fig. 2, No. 4),³ a certain amount of standard LH. III, and some examples of the 'panel' style. The inference to be drawn from this evidence is that the debris on the floors of the granary, and in the ninth level by the Lion Gate are due to one and the same fire, which occurred at a moment when standard LH. III, 'panel' style, and 'close' style were going out of fashion and 'granary' style was taking their place.

At the stratified site of *Korá kou* in the Corinthia, a 'close' style vase (Fig. 2,

¹ Other examples of 'panel' style vases from Mycenae are Pl. LIX *a*; Fig. 2, Nos. 1, 3.

² Cf. *BSA*, Vol. XXV, pp. 38-60, espec. pp. 40-3.

³ Cf. also *BSA*, Vol. XXV, Pl. VII *b*, and p. 41; Pl. LIX *b*, Pl. LX *a* here.



FIG. 2. Thirteenth Century; 1-4, Mycenae; 5-7, Corinthia; 8-11, S.W. Peloponnese.

No. 6) was found in a stratum with standard LH. III pottery but not quite the earliest kind of it.¹ There is reason to suppose that most of the LH. III deposit at this site belongs to the thirteenth rather than the fourteenth century.

¹ Cf. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 59 ff. Some vases are 'granary' class, e.g. *op. cit.*, Fig. 103.

'PHILISTINE' AND MYCENAEAN POTTERY

Similarly, in the LH. III pottery at *Zygouriés*, a little south of Korákou, on the borders of the Argolid, the state of disintegration of standard ornaments also suggests the thirteenth century (Fig. 2, Nos. 5, 7).¹

From the tholos tomb at *Messenian Pylos*² on the south-west coast of the Peloponnese there is a fine 'panel' style krater (Fig. 2, No. 8), and, probably of the same date, the upper part of a 'close' style stirrup-vase (Fig. 2, No. 9). A pyxis with a ship scene must, if careless drawing is any criterion, belong to the very end of the period (Fig. 2, No. 11).³ In these vases the use of concentric loops in rows or in masses, the blocking in with black of the spaces between the concentric loops,⁴ the treatment of the bird's wing and the fish's fin, and the panel arrangement invite comparison with 'Philistine' ornaments. The small jug (Fig. 2, No. 10) is presumably of the same date.

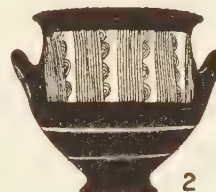
The 'panel' style krater (Fig. 2, No. 8) brings this group into relation with *Cephallenia*. The fine krater from Diakáta (Fig. 3, No. 1 *a*, 1 *b*)⁵ is 'close' style, though it has no figures. Among the Lakkéthra vases⁶ there are, it is true, some which are probably twelfth century, e.g. the ring-stemmed kylikes (Fig. 9, Nos. 7), but, as a whole, both the Lakkéthra and Diakáta groups must belong to the thirteenth century, though perhaps late in it. In the central panel of the Diakáta krater (Fig. 3, No. 1 *a*) and on the three central panels of the reverse (*ibid.*, No. 1 *b*) are motives that re-appear in 'Philistine' pottery (Fig. 12, Nos. 4, 7, 9) and the simple scheme of decoration on another Cephallenia krater (Fig. 3, No. 2) has a close counterpart on a krater from Minet el Beïda (Fig. 6, No. 6). Fringed concentric loops were popular in Cephallenia and Ithaca, and occur sporadically over



1a



1b



2



3



4

FIG. 3. Thirteenth Century; Cephallenia.

¹ Cf. Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 174 ff.

² Cf. 'Αρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς, 1914, p. 99 ff.

³ Cf., however, p. 102, note 2.

⁴ Cf. Fig. 12, Nos. 4, 9, 10.

⁵ 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον, 1919, pp. 102, 103, Figs. 17, 18.

⁶ 'Αρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς, p. 1 ff.

the whole area of Mycenaean influence (Fig. 6, No. 7; Fig. 7, No. 8). The origin of the concentric loop motive is complex. In its simple form it derives partly from the undulating lines that form conventional rock patterns in LH. II-LM. II vases¹ and partly from certain arrangements of the papyrus motive (Fig. 4, No. 8); when fringed it owes something to the octopus (Fig. 7, No. 8).² There is a vase in the Patras Museum (unpublished) from a tholos tomb in Achaia in which a frieze of swimming water-birds has been made by adding head, wings, and legs to groups of these fringed arcs. Similar 'mixed motives' are in fact characteristic of this phase of Mycenaean vase painting. Motives like Fig. 2, Nos. 5 and 7, Fig. 7, No. 5, remind one of the sort of agglutinative compositions that one draws absent-mindedly on blotting-paper, and which take shape under the pencil almost without conscious direction.

To turn to the *Dodecanese*, we find along with much standard LH. III, several vases which stand in close relation to the mainland 'close' style, especially Fig. 4, No. 1, from Rhodes. The ornament inside the rim of the vase from Calymnos³ is almost precisely the same as that on fragments from Mycenae (Pl. LX a, 1). The idea of using the arms of the octopus to divide the surface into panels (to which Myres has drawn attention)⁴ illustrated by elegant stirrup-vases from Rhodes (Fig. 4, No. 4) and Calymnos (Fig. 4, No. 11) is mainland in origin (Pl. LX a, 3), but the Dodecanese vase-painters have specially appreciated its fitness. Another stirrup-vase from Calymnos, however (Fig. 5), in which the arms of the octopus straggle horizontally across the vase is a failure, chiefly because the artist has decided to treat the arms as if they were branches of a tree in which to plant Noah's Ark-looking birds and other creatures. But the birds are interesting. In the structure of their wings and the way in which these are attached to the fish-shaped bodies they recall the Pylos bird and fish (Fig. 2, Nos. 9, 11) on the one hand and anticipate the 'Philistine' bird on the other.⁵ The bird within the arms of the octopus (Fig. 4, No. 4) has the same wings and the same synthetic make-up, but here the arms are not thought of as branches of a tree, but as crested rolling waves in the trough of which the bird is riding. This treatment of the wings is a formula derived in the first instance from the stalks

¹ Cf. Blegen, *Korákou*, Fig. 71, No. 2, and, for the next stage, Bosanquet-Dawkins, *Palaikastro*, Fig. 67 (LM. III).

² The dotted concentric circles on 'medallion' vases (*B.M. Cat.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, Fig. 287) and the formalized half-rosette or 'Palace' style vases are related. Cf. also *op. cit.*, p. 197.

³ Cf. *B.M. Cat.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, Fig. 277.

⁴ Cf. Myres, *Who were the Greeks?*, p. 473.

⁵ Cf. Forsdyke's remarks: 'the shape of this vase, its fabric and style and motives of decoration connect it with the latest group of false-necked jars' *B.M. Cat.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 194.

'PHILISTINE' AND MYCENAEAN POTTERY

of ivy leaves which appear on LH. I-LH. III *a* vases (Fig. 7, No. 2);¹ in the drawing of the body can be traced the formula for the upper tentacles of an octopus folded back as in Fig. 4, No. 2 (a kylix from Rhodes), which lies at



FIG. 4. Thirteenth Century; Dodecanese. 1-9, Rhodes; 10-11, Calymnos.

the back of the ornament that appears on many 'panel' style vases (Fig. 2, No. 2), and which, combined with spiral ends (Fig. 2, Nos. 1, 2), has clearly suggested the body of the chariot on the chariot-vases of Cyprus and Rhodes (Fig. 4, No. 9). Even the bodies of the passengers (Fig. 4, No. 9; Fig. 7, No. 9) have been suggested by other parts of the octopus, as in Fig. 2, No. 5; Pl. LIX *b*, 6, formalized almost out of recognition, and then transformed into

¹ From Zygouriés (*Zygouries*, fig. 139, 1). Fig. 7, No. 4, is an LH. III example from Rhodes.

human beings by the addition of heads and arms; so the flamboyant birds (Fig. 4, No. 3) are but deftly transformed floral motives. Fig. 4, No. 6, illustrates how abstract ornament and figure interact; it is plain how intimately this elegant ornament is connected with octopus, nautilus, and bird, and only a hand accustomed to drawing these would have produced it.

The birds on the cup (Fig. 4, No. 5) bring Rhodes into relation with Crete, especially with the larnax from Anogé (Fig. 8, No. 3) and the lid from

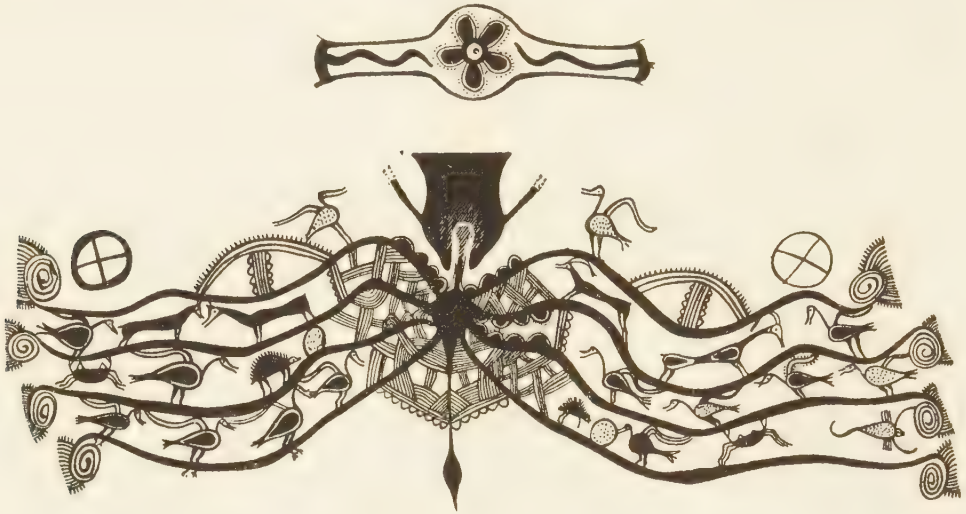


FIG. 5. Thirteenth Century; Calymnos. (Reproduced from *B.M. Cat.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1.)

Palaikastro (Fig. 8, No. 2); and with Cyprus, where one class of bird is drawn with similar curves (Fig. 6, No. 5). Again the octopus seems to lie at the back of the painter's mind in drawing these curved bodies, but there is also a suggestion of the LH. II nautilus¹ in their gliding motion and the deliberate omission of feet. In the attachment of the wing, the turned-back heads, and the horizontal hatching we have perhaps a clue to one of the sources of 'Philistine' birds. The Calymnos vase (Fig. 4, No. 10) is noteworthy for the unusually neat drawing of the animals, and for its careful composition. It is comparable with the Mycenae stirrup-vase (Fig. 2, No. 4) but the ornaments are more widely spaced. On the shoulder of the stirrup-vase (Fig. 4, No. 11) is a common formalization of the octopus, destined to appear on Cilician (Fig. 10, No. 12), Cretan (Fig. 10, No. 3), and 'Philistine' (Fig. 11, No. 3, 5) pottery in the twelfth century.

The Mycenaean material from *Rās Shamra* and *Minet el Beïda* and the rather scanty material from *Palestine* seem to be standard LH. III, possibly of

¹ Cf. Bossert, *Altikreta* (1923), 258, p. 189.

'PHILISTINE' AND MYCENAEAN POTTERY

Rhodian origin, and rather dull at that. A bird on a fragment from *Tell Abu Hawām* (Fig. 6, No. 10) looks Rhodian rather than mainland,¹ and the chariot pieces² might be either Rhodian or Cypriote, as far as style goes. The *Minet el Beida* krater (Fig. 6, No. 6) of which the panels are fringed with concentric arcs as in the Cephallenia kraters (Fig. 3, Nos. 1, 2) is rather sur-



FIG. 6. Thirteenth Century; 1-5 Cyprus; 6, Syria; 7-11 Palestine.

prising in this eastern context, and must be taken into account when 'Philistine' loops are considered; and for the same reason the jar (Fig. 6, No. 8) from a tomb near Jerusalem,³ and a sherd from Tell Abu Hawām (Fig. 6, No. 11).

Most LH. III in *Cyprus* is standard and even the chariot scenes seem to have been derived from the mainland,⁴ and though the stately two-piece Cypriote

¹ Cf. Fig. 4, 4. For other Mycenaean pottery from Tell Abu Hawām cf. *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. IV, pp. 45-54, and Plates XVII, XIX-XXII.

² Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XX, k, q, t, u; Pl. XXI, u.

³ Not yet published. Palestine Archaeological Museum.

⁴ Cf. fragments from Mycenae (Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen, Atlas*, Taf. XXXVIII, Nos. 390-2) and Tiryns (Bossert, *Altkreta* (1923), 267, p. 195).

bird (Fig. 6, No. 1), which reminds one of a ship under sail, has gayer plumage, there can be no mistake about his mainland origin.¹ Points that anticipate 'Philistine' birds are the vertical bars on the body and their fringes of small



FIG. 7. Fifteenth Century, LH. II; 1, Argolid. Fourteenth (?) century, 2, Corinthia; 3, Crete. Thirteenth century, 5, S. W. Peloponnese; 6, 7, 8, Cyprus; 4², 9, Rhodes.

loops, the fish-like bodies of the birds (Fig. 6, No. 2),³ the turned-back necks and faces drawn in outline of the stags on the same vase.⁴ The synthetic birds (Fig. 6, No. 3) have wings which, in common with 'Philistine' and Rhodian wings, look as if they had been artificially attached, but the fan-tails are Cretan; their surprised pose and other details are peculiar. The opulent one-piece birds

¹ Cf. the drawing of the heads and necks with Fig. 2, No. 6.

² Probably thirteenth, as a late-looking vase was found in the same tomb (Ialysos, Tomb XXIX) which contained a single burial (*Annuario*, VI-VII, pp. 157-8).

³ Cf. with Fig. 12, No. 12.

⁴ There are other examples of birds with turned-back heads on kraters in the Nicosia Museum, Nos. 1544, 1647. This arrangement seems to have been more popular in Cyprus than elsewhere. For the vertical wavering stripes cf. *BSA*, Vol. XXV, Fig. 6 b; Fig. 7 g (from the Lion Gate deposit at Mycenae), and the Tiryns chariot-sherd referred to p. 97, note 4.

with their curved bodies and black necks (Fig. 6, No. 5) connect Cyprus with Rhodes (Fig. 4, No. 5) and Crete (Fig. 8, No. 4). Quite a different bird appears in Fig. 6, No. 4; the one on the right has a reserved spiral to represent his eye, which may be compared with the reserved spiral on the neck of the horse on the Rhodian amphora (Fig. 4, No. 9),¹ where, however, it represents some part of the harness. The stiff heraldic arrangement of the birds on this Cypriote vase is rare, but on another vase from Cyprus are sphinxes on either side of a formal tree (Fig. 7, No. 6). It is clear that a step in the direction of panel arrangement was being taken, but, as in Rhodes and Crete, this never became popular, at any rate in figured vases, though both from Rhodes and Calymnos a few standard LH. III panel vases like Fig. 2, No. 1,² are known. Of the three ornaments from Cypriote vases reproduced (Fig. 7, Nos. 6-8), the history of the concentric loops (No. 8) has been already mentioned; No. 6 is a more formalized version of the familiar LH. II palm-tree³ and should be compared with the 'mixed motive' on the Zygouriés kylix (Fig. 2, No. 7) and with the palm-tree on the Calymnos vase (Fig. 4, No. 10) and finally with an ornament on a 'Philistine' jar, which is the same palm-tree perhaps turned upside down (Fig. 11, No. 7). No. 7 is the concentric loop ornament elaborated with bars. Perhaps of Cretan origin (Fig. 8, No. 5). It is also found on a Philistine fragment from Gezer (Fig. 12, No. 2).

Cretan counterparts to the 'close' style of the period are illustrated in Fig. 8, Nos. 3, 5-7. Cretan birds fall into three groups. Fig. 8, 1-4, probably the earliest, resemble Cypriote in their curved outlines, but the treatment of the plumage is quite distinct. In the case of Fig. 8, No. 1, the graceful bodies seem to have been suggested by floral ornaments (Fig. 7, No. 3). The birds on the pyxis-lid (Fig. 8, No. 2) and the larnax (Fig. 8, No. 3), like the birds on the Rhodian cup (Fig. 4, No. 5), recall the earlier swimming nautili. The heraldic birds (Fig. 8, No. 5) have the same fantail that we saw in Cyprus, and they are intermediate between the first group and the second, represented by Fig. 8, No. 7, and by others peculiar to Crete. The third group represented by the Phaestos fragment (Fig. 8, No. 8) is noteworthy, because of its panel arrangement, the vertical stripes, the fish-shaped bodies, the ragged wings, and the isolated concentric loop ornament, which distinguish it from other Cretan vases, and bring it into relation with 'Philistine' and to some extent with

¹ Cf. also Fig. 10, No. 6 (Cyprus, twelfth (?) century); and the winged griffin on the Palaikastro tub (thirteenth century). Cf. *Palaikastro*, Fig. 84; the Knossos Griffin (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, vol. iv facing p. 910) may also be compared. Here it is a papyrus flower on the neck.

² Cf. *Annuario*, VI-VII, Fig. 43, No. 55.

³ Cf. Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen, Atlas*, XXV.

other twelfth-century styles.¹ It should probably be placed latest in the series. On the other hand, the earliest group may fall within the fourteenth century.

Mycenaean pottery in *Macedonia*, though stratified, is not illuminating. Apart from some imported pieces of good standard LH. III,² most of it is standard LH. III, locally manufactured.³ The ornaments are restricted to



FIG. 8. Fourteenth and Thirteenth Centuries; Crete.

simple spirals, horizontal plain or wavy bands, &c. One octopus⁴ and a few floral motives,⁵ but no traces of a figured or of a 'close' style, have so far been discovered. LH. III passes automatically into a 'granary' style phase which lasted till it was interrupted by the Lausitz invasion in the twelfth century.

At *Troy*, the LH. III pottery of the thirteenth century revealed in Schliemann's excavations was mostly of the standard kind.⁶

¹ Cf. also the Palafkastro winged griffin (p. 99, note 1).

² Cf. *BSA*, Vol. XXIX, p. 144, Fig. 24, Nos. 1-6.

³ Cf. *BSA*, XXVII, Pl. XV, Pl. XVI a.

⁴ Cf. *BSA*, Vol. XXX, p. 134, Fig. 20 d.

⁵ Cf. *BSA*, XXX, p. 134, Fig. 20 e.

⁶ Cf. Schmidt, *Schliemann's Sammlung*, 3386-3479. The American excavations have now shown that vases ornamented in the Mycenaean manner were made locally at the time that LH. III vases were being imported. Cf. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1935, pp. 15-17, 20. Cf. also Schmidt, *Schliemann's Sammlung*, 3405-6.

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To resume. This rapid survey of the history of Mycenaean pottery of the thirteenth century has been necessary because only by forming some idea of its general character and regional peculiarities is it possible to discover the relation in which 'Philistine' pottery stands to it. Of the general characteristics we have seen that the most obvious is the disintegration of ornaments, many of which had been current since LH. I times and the rest since LH. II; and next, their transformation by means of fresh combinations into other often more abstract ornaments. Both tectonic and free-field arrangements are used, as by the LM. II-LH. II vase-painters, the one being continued in the 'panel' style popular at Mycenae and in Cephallenia, the other in the 'close' style, based partly on the 'Palace' style and partly on contemporary wall-painting, and found in combination with frieze and panel arrangement. We have seen that this 'close' style lent itself readily to individual treatment and we may suspect that a different group of vase-painters was working in each region, though, owing to the influence of Mycenae, exercised through the constant import of vases, and to the strength of tradition the bulk of the vases are like those current at Mycenae itself and reflect only such changes as originated there.

For the end of this phase of Mycenaean vase-painting, we have the Cypriote evidence, which shows that standard LH. III was passing out of fashion about the end of the thirteenth century;¹ and the evidence from Tell Abu Hawām in Palestine is in agreement with this, where the eclipse of Mycenaean pottery coincides with a catastrophe, which can most naturally be brought into relation with an historical event, the invasion of Palestine by Rameses III in 1196.² To the same event can probably be attributed the burnt layers at other Palestine sites, which separate LH. III pottery from its successors.

For the relative date of the 'panel' and 'close' style we have the evidence of Mycenae itself, where it is clear that the 'panel' style arose after standard LH. III had been current for some time, and is, in fact, a variety of it.³ For the 'close' style we can only say that it was in existence when the granary was destroyed by fire, an event which seems to coincide with the destruction of the building by the Lion Gate, i.e. the ninth of the stratified levels (Fig. 1).⁴ At this point, 'granary' style pottery, which in Cyprus replaces standard LH. III, had already begun to take its place.

¹ Gjerstadt, *Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus*, pp. 330, 331.

² *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. IV, pp. 68, 69.

³ Mr. Pendlebury informs me that a few 'panel-style' fragments were found at Tell el Amarna.

⁴ Cf. *Clara Rhodos*, vi-vii, p. 138, for evidence that 'close' style and standard LH. III were partially contemporary. Our Fig. 4. 1 was found with three standard LH. III vases in a tomb which contained a single burial.

Thus the fire at Mycenae must have occurred about the end of the thirteenth century. To this we shall return presently. Enough has been said to show that, independently of its believed association with the Philistines, the appearance of 'Philistine' pottery may on the analogy of the new phase of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus and its eclipse at Tell Abu Hawām be placed early in the twelfth century. Nor is there anything in the evidence of stratification to disprove this, at any rate on the coast.¹

Before submitting 'Philistine' pottery to a stylistic analysis, which may determine its precise relation to any or each of the local schools of Mycenaean vase-painting, it is necessary to follow the course of events in the several regions in the period that immediately follows the passing of standard LH. III, i.e. the same period that saw the rise of 'Philistine' pottery in Palestine. As might be expected, in view of the break-up of Mycenaean commerce, the centrifugal tendencies that had begun in the thirteenth century became more pronounced.

PART II. *The Twelfth Century*

On the *mainland*. 'Granary' style ornaments are very simple;² plain or wavy horizontal bands (Fig. 9, No. 1) or spiral loops (Fig. 9, Nos. 4, 5). Often the vases are completely coated with glaze-paint or the ornament is confined to a reserved zone (Fig. 9, Nos. 1, 4). As to forms, the stirrup-vase is popular; the kylix is still found, but its cup has become funnel-shaped (Fig. 9, No. 2) and the stem may be swollen (Fig. 9, No. 3) or ringed;³ the loop-handled bowl is the most common form, and has often acquired a conical foot. The Salamis graves⁴ belong to this period, and probably to its earliest part, and here we may note spirals filled with crosses (Fig. 9, No. 5) which have 'Philistine' parallels. The 'granary' class is also well illustrated by a group of cult-vases at Asine.⁵ Fig. 9, No. 6, is from the recent excavations at the Kerameikós in Athens, and should be compared with Fig. 12, Nos. 4, 9-10 ('Philistine').

¹ For dating of 'Philistine' pottery cf. Albright, *Annual of American School of Oriental Research*, Vol. XII, p. 56.

² Cf. *BSA*, Vol. XXV, Figs. 8, 9; Pl. VIII *c, d*; Pl. IX *a*; Pls. X, XI. Some of the fragments illustrated (Pl. LX *b* here) are thirteenth century; slack drawing is not necessarily a mark of lateness. Cf. *BSA*, Vol. XXV, Fig. 6 *b*; Fig. 7 *g*, which are deliberately grotesque. The turned-back heads of the birds in the central piece (Pl. LX *b* here) are interesting parallels to (or anticipation of) 'Philistine'. For an earlier (LH. II) example cf. the beautiful vase from Argos (Fig. 7, No. 1).

³ There are examples from Olympia. Cf. *Olympia*, Textband III, p. 199, Nos. 1285, 6.

⁴ Cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, 35 (1910), pp. 17-36.

⁵ Cf. *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1927, p. 379, Fig. 10; Fig. 9, No. 3 here.

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In the *Ionian Islands* contact with Mycenae must have survived the beginning at least of the 'granary' style, since, in the Aetós cairns much of the



FIG. 9. Twelfth Century; 1-3, Argolid; 4-5, Salamio; 6, Athens; 7-8, Cephallenia; 9-10, Ithaca.

pottery is 'granary' style, though developed on individual lines, and at Pólis, pottery parallel to that of Salamis has been found. The use of loops as sole ornament (Fig. 9, Nos. 9, 10) is almost peculiar to Ithaca at this time (there is an example from Kavoúsi in Crete),¹ and by means of it the way is prepared for the compass-drawn circles and half-circles of proto-geometric, which forms the rest of the decorated pottery from the cairns at Aetós. In Ithaca, both at Aetós and Pólis, and in Cephallenia, kylixes with ringed or swollen stems (Fig. 9, Nos. 7, 8) are relatively common.

¹ Cf. *AJA*, Vol. V, 1901, Pl. I, second row on extreme left.



FIG. 10. Twelfth Century; 1-5, Crete; 6-10, 13, Cyprus; 11-12, 14-15, Cilicia.

The case of *Cyprus* in the Early Iron Age is analogous to that of the Ionian Islands, in so far that some elements in the pottery are clearly derived from the Mycenaean 'granary style',¹ but differs in so far that local kilns were still

¹ Cf. Gjerstadt, *Studies*, pp. 226-8; and Fig. 10, Nos. 8, 10 here. Cf. the amphora (Gjerstadt, *Studies*, p. 224, 1) with Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Pl. XI, 11; the jug (*Studies*, p. 223, 7) with Wace, *loc. cit.* 9; the ornament on the jug (*Studies*, *loc. cit.* 6) with Wace, *loc. cit.* 10. The

turning out the traditional island wares. The result is a true mixed style, in which surviving LH. III, recent 'granary' style, and local elements have contributed both to forms and ornaments (Fig. 10, Nos. 6-10, 13). The animal style goes native (Fig. 10, Nos. 6, 7),¹ and Mycenaean ornament is applied to local forms (Fig. 10, No. 13). Rare pieces from Cilicia (which however may be just Cypriote) tell the same story (Fig. 10, Nos. 11, 12, 14, 15).²

In *Rhodes* there is, as far as I know, nothing to fill the gap between the latest LH. III and protogeometric, such as has been found at Lindos and the Patelle cemetery,³ unless we except a few pieces which might be classed as 'granary' style.⁴

In *Crete*, though twelfth-century pottery seems on the whole to be implicit in what went before, there is some evidence that intermittent contact with the mainland continued. At Kavouísi, for instance, are loop-handled bowls with incipient conical feet⁵ and at Vrókastro kylikes with swollen stems (Fig. 10, No. 3); and the slimmer forms of the stirrup-vases (Fig. 10, No. 2), bowls⁵ (Fig. 10, No. 1), and kraters (Fig. 10, No. 5), the concentric loops,⁶ the drawing of the rare figures (Fig. 10, No. 5), and the animal in panel arrangement (Fig. 10, No. 5) conform to the tendencies of the time.

Relations between Mycenae and *Macedonia* lasted long enough for the 'granary' style to take root there.⁷ Native pottery exercises no influence on and is not influenced by it. Unlike Cyprus, Macedonia offers no evidence of a mixed style, and, unlike the Ionian Islands, evolved no corresponding style of its own.

Detailed evidence for the course of events in this period at *Troy*, revealed by the American excavations, is not yet to hand.⁸

North Palestine and Syria. At Tell Abu Hawām when the catastrophe occurred, standard LH. III was still being imported;⁹ in the succeeding period, the recent Mycenaean imports seem to have left few traces; the pottery is just native. The same seems to be the case in the interior of Palestine and in Syria; a few squat jars go back to Mycenaean originals.¹⁰

popularity too of bands consisting of two or three parallel undulating lines in Cyprus implies familiarity with the 'granary' style (*Studies*, pp. 222-4). It is clear that connexion between Cyprus and the Greek mainland must have survived, at any rate, the early stages of the 'granary' style.

¹ Cf., however, p. 102, note 2.

² Cf. *Revue Archéologique*, IV (1934), pp. 155 ff., Fig. 18a; and *Liverpool Annals*, XXI, p. 51 ff., and Pl. VIII, 1-5.

³ e.g. *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 127 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Annuario*, VI-VII, p. 121, Fig. 40.

⁵ Cf. *AJA*, Vol. V (1901), Plates I, II.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. I, on extreme left.

⁷ e.g. *BSA*, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI b (Vardaróftsa).

⁸ i.e. of City VII b; referred to in *AJA*, 1935, p. 21.

⁹ Cf. *QDAP*, IV, p. 66 (diagram).

¹⁰ Cf. *op. cit.* Pl. XIII, 63.



FIG. 11. Twelfth Century; Palestine.

This brings us to *South Palestine* and 'Philistine' pottery (Figs. 11, 12).¹ Here the first thing that strikes one is that, though one would expect to find the same state of things as in North Palestine, and though one does actually

¹ What looks rather like a 'Philistine' sherd is illustrated by Pézard, *Qadesh*, Pl. XXVI, Fig. 4, No. 5, but the description (p. 49) is not illuminating.

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find a good deal of the pottery is identical, one class, however, shows by its ornament and its forms that it is to a great extent a legacy from LH. III.

In discussing the regional varieties of thirteenth-century LH. III we have noted, in each, points of similarity which 'Philistine' ware has with them. These

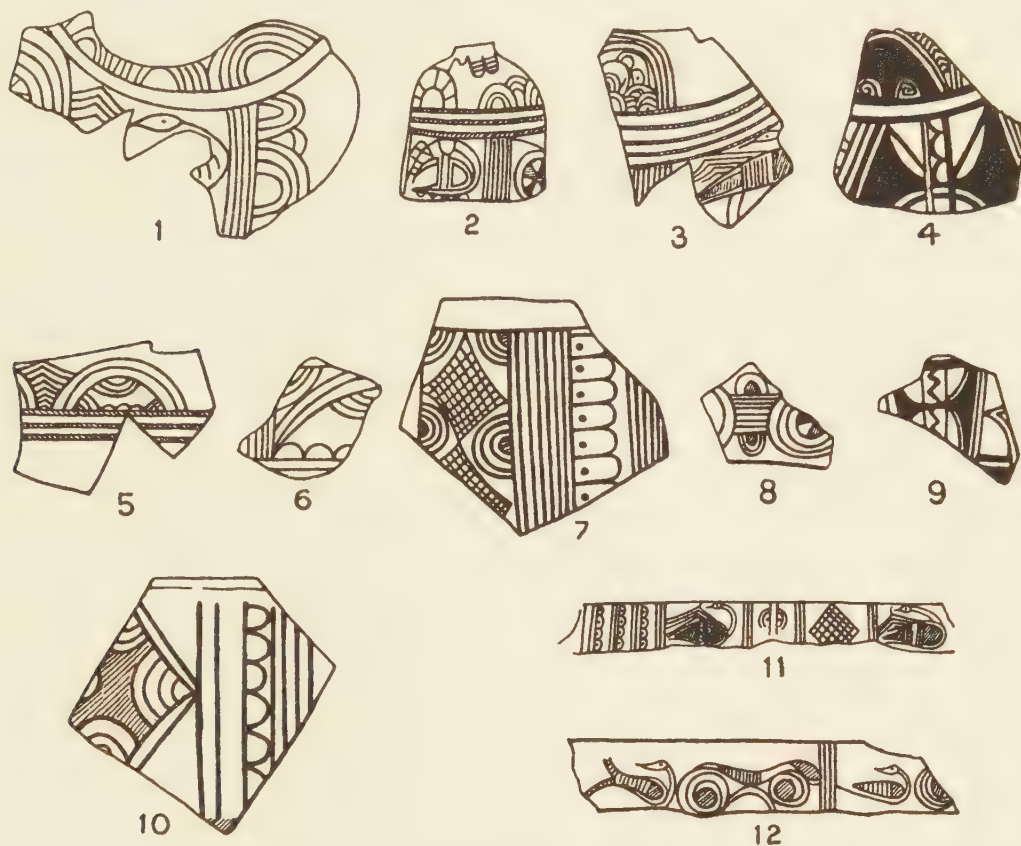


FIG. 12. Twelfth Century; Palestine.

points of similarity are most frequent with Cyprus; the vertical stripes on the bodies of the birds (Fig. 6, Nos. 1, 5), the throwing-back of heads,¹ the drawing of heads in outline. Next with the Dodecanese; especially the curves of the bodies and the chevron wings. Some with Palestine itself or Syria, e.g. the use of borders or groups of concentric loops (Fig. 6, Nos. 7-9, 11).² With the mainland, perhaps only the concentric arches filled with loops

¹ Cf. p. 98, note 4.

² Though these are not, of course, peculiar to Palestine or Syria.

(Fig. 12, Nos. 3, 5, 6)¹ and the panel arrangement.² Very few with Crete. Native elements are, of course, the fabric, the white slip, the dull paint, the use of two colours, and occasional forms like the strainer-jug.

Thus the 'Philistine' style is an eclectic style, based on LH. III which had been current in the Levant within the latter half of the thirteenth century (but which was now passing away), and showing special familiarity with the Cypriote and Rhodian, less with the mainland varieties of it. But relations with all these places had probably been interrupted at the time that 'Philistine' pottery makes its appearance. Had Palestine been in touch with Crete or Cyprus or with Mycenae itself, the influence of the 'granary' style would have been felt, bowls would have been narrower towards the base and would have had conical feet, the kylix would not have completely died out, but would have appeared in its new form, with ringed or swollen stem. 'Philistine' pottery gives the impression of having been made by potters who had been familiar with Levantine and mainland Mycenaean, but had not the originals before their eyes and were relying on their memories. Hence its eclectic character. It reminds one of several kinds of Mycenaean, not of any particular kind; it borrows from all, but is wholly dependent on none. It is unlikely that it is the pottery of the (unknown) homeland from which the Philistines came. What we have seen of local varieties of Mycenaean in the thirteenth century is quite otherwise. On the contrary, stylistically considered, it falls into place as one of many twelfth-century styles, based on Mycenaean, but peculiar in the sense that Mycenaean contacts had been cut off. It is not a mixed style, like Cypriote, where native and contemporary Mycenaean elements are combined; rather, native elements are combined with Mycenaean elements now passed out of currency. This does not imply a long interval between the cessation of Mycenaean imports and the rise of 'Philistine', and stratigraphic evidence proves that one succeeds the other, at any rate on the coast, without appreciable interval; it merely implies that Mycenaean models were no longer available, having disappeared in the catastrophe of 1196 B.C.

The inference to be drawn from all this is that the 'Philistine' pottery is not that which the Philistines can have brought with them, though its appearance doubtless coincides with their settlement in Palestine. Nor can we deduce from it where the Philistines came from, since it draws on most of the regional

¹ Cf. Pl. LX.

² Unless the 'panel' arrangement on Philistine vases is due to the earlier 'bird and panel' tradition, cf. p. 109. If so, the contacts with the mainland are less marked and may have been mediated through Cyprus and Rhodes.

varieties of Levantine Mycenaean.¹ The most we can say is that it may have been made to satisfy a demand by the new-comers for something which had a Mycenaean look, and infer from its composite character that they were familiar with the whole Aegean. On the other hand, it is hard to say that it might not have arisen quite apart from any Philistine settlement. It could be explained as one of the parallel regional styles of the twelfth century, and its distribution in South Palestine as due to some local potter with more individuality than his neighbours. It must be remembered too that a ‘bird and panel’ style had² flourished in just this region recently, and it is not impossible that an inherited aesthetic tendency lay at the back of the selection of the bird motive, and placed it within a panel.

All things considered, the term ‘Philistine’ for this pottery is unfortunate, as it implies on the one hand more than can be demonstrated, and on the other does not suggest its Mycenaean orientation. Nor is the term LH. IV applicable, since this ware is not, as in Cyprus, the ‘granary’ phase of Mycenaean, tempered with local elements. We have seen that it owes its individuality to Mycenaean elements retained beyond the period to which they normally belong. ‘Derivative LH. III’ would express in a rather clumsy way its true relationship. If, however, the term ‘Philistine’ has come to stay, as seems to be the case, it should always be placed in inverted commas. If so, no great harm will be done.

Though the above analysis of ‘Philistine’ pottery has not led to any spectacular conclusions, it does, I think, bring into relief the value which this pottery has for the chronology of the Western Aegean. To resume what has been already said, the evidence from Cyprus makes it fairly certain that LH. III came to an end there about 1200, and at Tell Abu Hawām in Palestine, Hamilton independently drew the same conclusion. But in Cyprus there is clear evidence that a ‘close’ style based on Mycenaean originals was already popular there. The evidence from the Calavarda tomb in Rhodes³ shows a good ‘closed’ style vase of mainland type associated in a single burial with good standard LH. III, and a ‘close’ style fragment from Tell Abu Hawām tells the same story.

The ‘close’ style therefore must fall within the thirteenth century. We have seen that ‘Philistine’ pottery (which appears early in the twelfth) is also

¹ The special affinity with Rhodes and Cyprus (cf. p. 105) might be taken to indicate the direction.

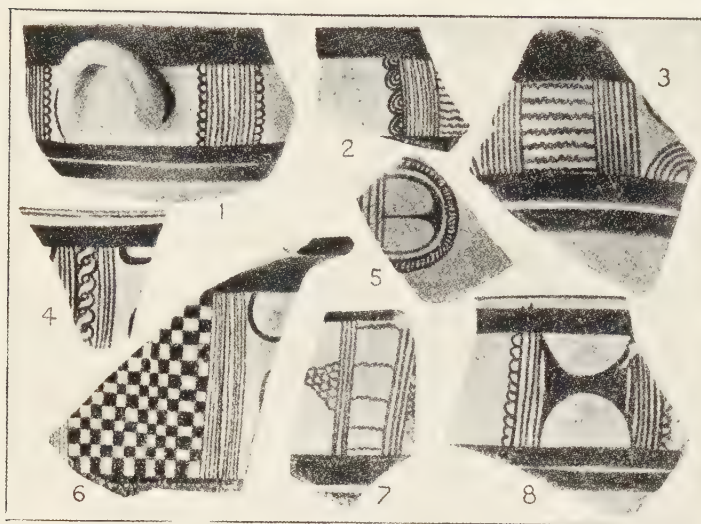
² The dating of this class is still uncertain, but there is some reason to suppose that it may have survived into the thirteenth century.

³ Cf. p. 101, note 4.

derived to some extent from the 'close' style, and, consequently, confirms the evidence of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Palestine that the 'close' style is a thirteenth-century style. The pieces found on the floor of the granary, at Mycenae, associated with 'granary' style pottery, must therefore be among the latest examples. The destruction of the granary therefore and of the adjoining building by the Lion Gate cannot have any connexion with the Dorian invasion, unless the Dorian invasion occurred one hundred years earlier than its traditional date (1104).

Thus the value of 'Philistine' pottery is that it gives independent evidence for the date of the last phase of LH. III and the transition to LH. IV (i.e. the Mycenaean pottery of the twelfth century). By establishing this date, we can infer the kind of Mycenaean pottery which should be associated with the time just before and just after the Trojan War, i.e. the latest examples of LH. III, and the earliest examples of 'granary' style (LH. IV) or its local counterparts; and this is of capital importance for Aegaeon archaeology.

W. A. HEURTLEY.



a



b

THIRTEENTH CENTURY ; MYCENAE. *a*, 'PANEL' STYLE ;
b, 'CLOSE' STYLE

(Reproduced from *B. M. Cat.* Vol. I, Pt. 1.)



a



b

a. THIRTEENTH CENTURY; 'CLOSE' STYLE. b. THIRTEENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES. ALL FROM MYCENAE

(Reproduced from Furtwängler-Loeschcke, *Myk. Vasen, Atlas.*)

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